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ABSTRACT

This document consists of a high school level study unit on decisions that faced the United States with respect to the Soviet Union following World War II. In applying the choices approach to the problem solving, the unit calls upon students to become active participants in the history-making process. To enhance authenticity, the lessons rely on primary sources rather than subsequent analyses. Developed as a 5-day program for a U.S. history or current issues class, the lessons seek to enhance such critical learning skills as reasoning logically from cause to effect, applying statistics, and building consensus. Among the possible approaches to the Soviet Union that the unit discusses are the imposition of a "Pax Americana," containment of Soviet Communism, co-existence, and isolationism. The unit includes a chronology, selected biographies of political figures, a lesson plan, and a list of eight suggested readings. (LBG)

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CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

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Coming To Terms With Power:
U.S. Choices After World War II

ALTERNATIVES FOR PUBLIC DEBATE
AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT

A project of the Center for Foreign Policy Development

Brown University, Box 1948, Providence, RI 02912

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	**ii**
Note to Teachers	**iii-iv**
Student Text:	**1-20**
Historical Background	**1**
Summary of Issues Affecting U.S.-Soviet Relations – 1946	**6**
Option 1: Impose a Pax Americana (American Peace)	**9**
Option 2: Contain Soviet Communism	**12**
Option 3: Co-Exist and Compromise	**15**
Option 4: Avoid Foreign Entanglements	**18**
Chronology	**21**
Selected Biographies of 1945-47 Political Figures	**22**
Lesson Plan and Student Activities	**27**
Suggested Reading	**58**

THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROJECT was established at the Center for Foreign Policy Development to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

THE CENTER FOR FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENT of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University is a non-profit research organization. Its mandate is to bring together scholars, policymakers, and the public in a search for policy choices that can lead to a consensus on U.S. national security and foreign policy.

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Coming To Terms With Power: U.S. Choices After World War II is the first unit in a series that will apply the choices approach to critical junctures in U.S. history. Finally, we wish to thank the Ettinger Foundation, Lawson-Valentine Foundation, Topsfield Foundation, Inc., The Pew Charitable Trusts, and an anonymous member of the Rockefeller family for their generous support of the work of the Choices Education Project.

CHOICES

for the 21st Century Education Project

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula for high schools and colleges on current foreign policy issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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Note to Teachers

The United States emerged from World War II possessing economic and military power unprecedented in modern world history. Many observers, like Henry Luce, publisher of *Time* magazine, saw this as the beginning of the "American Century" – a period in which the United States could shape events abroad and promote American values throughout the world. Within a few short years this apparent "Pax Americana" had been displaced by an emerging bipolar world scenario, in which the United States was locked into an ideological, economic, political, and, at times, military struggle with a new world power, the Soviet Union. An understanding of this critical period from 1945 through 1947 is the necessary foundation for an understanding of U.S. foreign policy, U.S. domestic politics, and international relations for the four decades that followed. The characteristic features that the Cold War later exhibited can be discerned in the decisions and actions that occurred during this brief period.

While most historians agree that some sort of U.S.-Soviet rivalry was likely after the common enemies had been defeated, few insist that the Cold War, *in the particular form that it took*, was inevitable. Contrary to the typical textbook presentation of the 1945-47 period as a sequence of predictable Soviet actions and U.S. responses, U.S. perceptions of the Soviet Union at the time were confused and the policies being discussed ranged along a broad spectrum of possibilities.

Coming To Terms With Power: U.S. Choices After World War II brings the students back into this formative period, to experience these conflicting perceptions and participate in the process through which U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union was shaped. The choices approach, originally developed by the Brown University Center for Foreign Policy Development as a tool for discussing contemporary U.S. foreign policy issues, makes the students active participants in the history-making process, rather than treating them as passive receptacles into which the distilled hindsight of historians can be poured.

To enhance the authenticity of this learning experience, primary sources (speeches, newspaper articles and editorials, and political cartoons) from the mid-1940s are used. The student is not exposed to ex post facto "first hand accounts" (many of which were produced from this period) or to subsequent analyses by scholars. Thus, the students – possessing only the information and perceptions available to U.S. decision-makers at the time – have the opportunity to work through the problem as a group.

This unit was developed to be taught over a five-day period and is appropriate for either a typical high school U.S. history class or a course focusing on current issues. To be most effective, this unit should be preceded by a thorough discussion of World War II. Emphasis is placed upon the development of the following critical learning skills: distinguishing facts from opinions and assumptions; reasoning logically from cause (or assumption) to effect (or action); choosing from conflicting positions; presenting arguments clearly and convincingly; listening carefully to and analyzing the positions of others; extracting information from primary sources; interpreting visual presentations of opinion; understanding and applying statistics; and clarifying the connection between values and policies. Particularly important is the consensus-building skill developed on the final day of the unit.

The "Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan" is, as the name implies, optional. It is not necessary to follow it strictly, like a recipe from a cookbook. We have included in this unit a variety of primary sources not readily available to most teachers. Feel free to employ these creatively, in a manner designed to appeal to the intellectual appetites and abilities of your students. Remember, half the fun of teaching is in putting together a new way of presenting familiar material.

Below is an outline of the "Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan" found on pages 27-29. The "Student Text" (pages 1-20) contains the core background readings and a range of policy options. ("Background Briefings" on the security concerns of the Big Four in 1946 may also be included in the "Student Text.") The student handouts follow the lesson plan.

Homework: Read "Note to Students," "Historical Background," and complete "Study Guide – Historical Background"

Day One: Understanding the postwar world
Homework: Read respective "Background Briefing" and complete "Study Guide – Background Briefing"

Day Two: Security concerns of the Big Four
Homework: Read "Summary of Issues Affecting U.S.-Soviet Relations – 1946" and complete "Questions for Review"

Day Three: Options for U.S. foreign policy – 1946: organization and preparation
Homework: Read respective option and complete "Option Study Guide"

Day Four: Options for U.S. foreign policy – 1946: debate and discussion
Homework: Review options, and complete "Focusing Your Thoughts" and "Crafting Your Option"
*Extra Challenge:** Prepare position paper on option

Day Five: Crisis and consensus
Homework: Read "Epilogue: The Truman Doctrine – 1947" and complete "Study Guide – The Truman Doctrine"

**Material designated "Extra Challenge" is appropriate for advanced students.*

Historical Background

Note to Students

The period from 1947 to 1990, generally labeled the "Cold War" by historians, was a time in which U.S. foreign policy, U.S. domestic politics, and international relations were strongly influenced and, at times, dominated by the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. Frequently, this rivalry took on the appearance of a crusade, with the United States leading the forces of the "free world" against the threat of "international communism" directed by the Soviet Union. An understanding of the critical period from 1945, when the United States and the Soviet Union were still wartime allies, to 1947, when the Cold War had clearly begun, is necessary to grasp the events of the second half of the 20th century. The attitudes formed and the decisions made during this three-year period defined the character of the following four decades.

This unit is built around selections from letters, speeches, interviews, and memoranda written while the events you will be studying were happening. These documents, composed by the people who were shaping the decisions, express their values, perceptions, and recommendations. These primary sources are the raw material that historians work with when they write history and they should be read *very carefully*. Notice not only the ideas expressed, but also the words and phrases chosen to express them. What are the *values* and *perceptions* behind these opinions and what are the *implications* of the recommendations? Major differences of opinion frequently lie behind relatively minor differences in expression.

In this unit, you will be taken back to the 1945 to 1947 period. You will participate with those who actually shaped U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union by deciding what strategy the United States should adopt to ensure its security and world peace in the postwar period. You will have available to you much of the information that these decision-makers possessed at the time. For the next few days, please forget everything that you might know about the events after 1947. Just take yourself back to the time of your grandparents' schooling, before television, when a new car could be purchased for under $500.

The United States and the Soviet Union became wartime allies on December 11, 1941, when Nazi Germany declared war on the United States. Germany had invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. The German attack on the Soviet Union had come as a shock to the Soviet leaders. Two years earlier, the Soviets had signed a treaty with Germany, the so-called Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, in which leaders of both countries committed themselves to peaceful relations.

For Americans, the U.S. alliance with the Soviet Union raised troubling questions. The United States had opposed the Soviet system since the communists had come to power in 1917. Even after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, most Americans remained wary of helping Moscow. The United States' entry into World War II compelled U.S. leaders to put aside their differences in the common struggle against Nazi leader Adolf Hitler.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt sought to emphasize the cohesion of the anti-Nazi alliance in a speech delivered in February 1943, several months after the successful Allied landings in North Africa:

In an attempt to ward off the inevitable disaster, the Axis propagandists are trying all of their old tricks in order to divide the United Nations [the name given to the coalition of nations fighting Germany]. *They seek to create the idea that if we win this war, Russia, England, China, and the United States are going to get into a cat-and-dog fight. This is their final effort to turn one nation against another....To these panicky attempts to escape the consequences of their crimes we say – all the United Nations say – ..."Unconditional Surrender"....The Nazis must be frantic indeed if they believe that they can devise any propaganda which would turn the British and American and Chinese governments and peoples against Russia – or Russia against the rest of us.*

Nonetheless, areas of U.S.-Soviet friction emerged. These hidden points of conflict were to influence U.S.-Soviet relations after the war. Among the most important issues were:

Soviet Aggression – The Soviet Union took advantage of Germany's invasion of Poland in September 1939 to reassert its control over the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. These countries had been part of the Russian Empire before the communist revolution of 1917. The Soviet Union also attacked Finland in late 1939. Like the Baltic states, Finland had been part of the Russian Empire. Unlike the Baltic states, Finland after 1939 was not completely incorporated into the Soviet Union. While the peace treaty of 1940 gave the Soviet Union several slices of Finnish territory, the Finns retained their independence. The American public admired the defense of the valiant Finns against their larger and stronger neighbor. Another example of Soviet aggression was found in the secret provisions of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Under the treaty, Germany and the Soviet Union agreed to divide up Poland, which lay between them. A few weeks after Germany invaded Poland from the west in 1939, the Soviets entered the country from the east.

The Second Front – President Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had promised the Soviet leader, Josef Stalin, that they would launch a second front against the Axis powers before the end of 1942. Stalin wanted the Allies to invade western Europe to relieve some of the pressure that the Soviet armies were facing on the eastern front. However, Churchill, like Roosevelt, feared the enormous battlefield casualties that a premature second front might produce. He strongly opposed the frontal assault on the entrenched German positions in western France, and instead urged Roosevelt to launch the Allied blow through the Balkans, the area extending northward into Europe from Greece. This strategy, according to Churchill, would accomplish three things. First, the casualties would be lower. Second, British influence in Greece, an area of historical British concern, would be guaranteed. Third, the Allied armies would be positioned much closer to eastern Europe, leaving British and U.S. leaders in a much stronger position to influence postwar developments in this area. Although President Roosevelt, acting upon the advice of his military leaders, rejected Churchill's specific strategy, the U.S. plan to invade North Africa in late 1942 indicated that U.S. leaders were also eager to avoid a premature second front in western Europe.

The Allied invasion of North Africa had virtually no impact upon the huge German armies in the east. Roosevelt and Churchill again promised a second front – this time landing troops on the island of Sicily and then the Italian peninsula in 1943. The invasion of Italy, while putting an Allied army on the European continent, again did not significantly lessen the Axis powers' pressure on the Soviet Red Army. The geography of the Italian peninsula made it possible for the Germans to delay the Allied armies with only a fraction of those forces used on the Russian front. The long-awaited invasion of western Europe did not come until D-Day in June 1944, by which time the Soviet armies already had inflicted costly defeats upon the Germans and had begun to force them back toward the prewar boundaries. Since the Red Army bore the brunt of the fighting in Europe during most of World War II, Soviet battlefield casualties exceeded the combined battlefield casualties of all of the other Allies in the European theater. In fact, Soviet casualties were more than fifty times those of the U.S. armies in Europe.

Poland – Because of the absence of natural barriers, such as mountain ranges and large rivers, Russia historically has been very vulnerable to invasion from the west through Poland. This was the route taken by Napoleon's armies in 1812, Kaiser Wilhelm's armies in 1914, and Hitler's armies in 1941. One of Stalin's principal wartime objectives was to establish security for the Soviet Union in this area. First, Stalin wanted to move the borders of the Soviet Union westward. Under this plan, the territory that Poland would lose to the Soviet Union would be offset by giving postwar Poland territory taken from eastern Germany. Second, the Soviets demanded a "friendly" government in Poland. To achieve this, the Soviets installed a provisional government in areas of eastern Poland liberated by the Red Army. The provisional government, based in Lublin, was staffed by pro-Russian and pro-communist Poles who had spent the war years in Moscow. Excluded initially were members of the Polish government-in-exile in London, which Stalin viewed as anti-Soviet and anti-Russian.

Two wartime incidents served to complicate the Polish issue even further. When the German armies

entered that section of Poland that had been occupied by the Soviets in 1939, they discovered in the Katyn Forest mass graves containing bodies of thousands of executed Polish army officers. Although Moscow blamed this atrocity on the Germans, the Polish government-in-exile in London had no doubt about who was to blame. As the Red Army pushed the Germans out of occupied Poland in January 1945, the Polish government-in-exile ordered the underground forces in Warsaw to rise up, expel the Germans, and establish their own Polish authority before the Soviet forces could take the city. Although initially somewhat successful, the underground forces soon were overwhelmed by German reinforcements. British and U.S. appeals to Moscow to send the Red Army, which was just across the Vistula River, to the aid of the underground fighters were ignored. Instead, the Soviet army waited until the uprising had been crushed before it resumed its attack on the Germans.

Mutual Suspicion and Dislike — Many Americans disliked the Soviet government's policies and philosophy. In particular, the Soviet regime's official atheism and abolition of private property violated two fundamental American values. When Germany attacked the Soviet Union prior to the U.S. entry into the war, many Americans could find little sympathy for the Soviets. Senator Harry Truman told a reporter in June 1941: "If we see that Germany is winning the war we ought to help the Russians, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and in that way let them kill as many as possible."

Soviet leaders were likewise deeply suspicious of the United States. As communists, they considered conflict with the world's most prosperous capitalist nation inevitable. Moreover, Soviet leaders had not forgotten that shortly after the new Bolshevik (communist) government pulled Russia out of World War I in 1918, the United States sent troops onto Russian territory. While the stated purpose of this joint British-French-Japanese-American intervention was to prevent war supplies from falling into the hands of the Germans, the Soviets believed that these troops were actually assisting the Russian "White" armies — those Russians fighting the Bolsheviks in a bloody civil war. During the 1920s, the United States supported the efforts of the British and French to isolate the new Soviet regime. In fact, the United States did not extend diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union until 1933.

U.S. Aid — In March 1941, Congress approved the Lend-Lease Act, enabling the Allies to "lend" or "lease" military equipment. Although the Lend-Lease program was originally designed to help cash-starved Great Britain, the United States also began sending military supplies to the Soviets after the Nazi invasion. During the course of the war, the Soviets received about $11 billion worth of aid. Most of these supplies had to be transported by the dangerous northern sea route, which was subject to German air and U-boat attacks. When shipments were delayed because of these dangers, the Soviets became distrustful of U.S. motives. As soon as Japan surrendered, aid was abruptly terminated by the U.S. government. The Soviet Union had suffered more physical damage than any of the other Allies, and Stalin had hoped to use Lend-Lease aid, which included trucks and railroad equipment, to help rebuild his country.

At the Big Three conference held at Yalta in February 1945, Stalin requested $10 billion in reparations from Germany. (To appreciate the buying power of $10 billion in the 1940s, remember that a new car cost under $500!) These reparations would not be actual currency, but rather machinery, goods, food, and anything of value that could be physically transported back to the Soviet Union. Both Roosevelt and Churchill were reluctant to approve this figure. At Yalta, Stalin also requested a postwar loan from the United States of $1 billion — $5 billion lower than his request of 1944. Rather than granting a loan, Washington would consider only a "credit," which the Soviets could use to purchase American goods. The administration of President Harry S Truman also delayed action on the request until March 1946, tying the granting of the credit to the resolution of political and economic issues that had arisen.

Postwar Germany — During the war, joint plans for postwar Germany did not progress much beyond the designation of areas that the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain would occupy. These three zones (a fourth zone was created later for France) were intended to correspond roughly to areas that the victorious armies expected to occupy at the conclusion of the war. Berlin, located well to the east, would be under joint administration. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed reluctantly to the redrawn German-Polish border. Beyond agreeing that the Nazi influence had to be purged from Germany, and that in practice each occupying

power could deal with the reparation issue within its own zone, the Western Allies and the Soviets seemed unable to overcome their suspicions concerning the other's intentions. The Soviets, in particular, feared a Germany rebuilt along capitalist lines that could again threaten Soviet security.

The War against Japan — The United States wanted commitments from the Soviets that after Germany's defeat the Soviet Union would join the war against Japan. The Japanese were fighting tenaciously in the Pacific war, and the weight of the huge Red Army was seen as an effective weapon to shorten the war and limit American casualties. In return for Stalin's promise to enter the war against Japan after the defeat of Germany, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed at Yalta to a number of territorial concessions that would strengthen the Soviet position in the Far East. These concessions involved not only Japanese-controlled areas, but also areas that historically had been under Chinese control. China, of course, was an ally of the United States in the war against Japan.

The United Nations — The Soviets were suspicious of President Roosevelt's plan for a postwar international organization with the ability to enforce peace terms imposed on the defeated Axis powers, and to deal with future threats. Moscow feared that the United Nations (UN) would be controlled by capitalist, and potentially hostile, states. The Soviets insisted that each of the five major victors (Great Britain, United States, Soviet Union, China, and France) have the right to veto UN decisions. The Soviets also demanded that each of the Soviet republics be given representation in the world organization. Similarly, the establishment of the World Bank, with powers to coordinate trade and economic development, was seen as a threat to the Soviet socialist system.

The Atomic Bomb — The secret joint U.S.-British project to develop the military potential of atomic energy (code named "Manhattan Project") involved more than 100,000 workers and cost more than $1 billion. The Soviets were not officially informed of the existence of this new, immensely powerful weapon until the Potsdam Conference in July 1945. President Truman described the atomic bomb in general terms to Stalin, who already knew of its existence through unofficial sources. Since the weapon was not tested until after Germany had surrendered, it was to be used on Japan to hasten the end of the Pacific war. Although the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki would, in fact, bring about a quick end to the war the following month, Truman did not withdraw the long-standing U.S. request that the Soviet Union enter the war against Japan. The concessions promised to the Soviets also were not withdrawn.

Winston Churchill — The British wartime leader's opposition to Soviet communism was well-known and extended back to the days of the Bolshevik revolution, when Churchill expressed the desire to strangle it at birth. His close friendship with Roosevelt and his ability to influence U.S. policy was resented by the Soviet leaders. Throughout much of the war Moscow feared that the British and the Americans would come to terms with the Nazis at Soviet expense. Churchill's opposition to the establishment of an early second front in France and his advocacy of a Balkan strategy were known to the Soviets. Unlike Roosevelt, who thought that he could employ his considerable political skills to persuade Stalin to behave and cooperate, Churchill held no illusions about the tactics or long-term objectives of the Soviet dictator. Harry Truman, Roosevelt's successor, respected Churchill's opinions and was strongly influenced by Churchill's passionate anti-communism.

The Big Three shape the postwar world

© *Punch*, 1943

Extra Challenge

Some of the perils of wartime alliances were discussed intelligently in mid-1943 by Walter Lippmann, probably the most influential American newspaper columnist at that time. Read carefully the following selection, think about Lippmann's predictions, and ask yourself whether the predictions made more sense than the expectations of those who hoped that the wartime cooperation would continue after the defeat of the Axis powers.

We must begin by remembering that Britain, Russia, and America are allies, not by conscious choice, but under the compulsion of their common enemies. They have been compelled, as I have tried to show, to become allies whenever a really formidable aggressive power emerged which threatened to break out of Europe into the outer world. Nevertheless, when there is no such enemy which threatens their national existence, the need for their alliance becomes submerged. Their lesser, their separate and conflicting interests are then free to assert themselves. The greater the peril from the outside, the closer is their union: the greater their security, the more their differences come to the surface.

The unconditional surrender of Germany and of Japan is bound, therefore, to leave all the Allies with an immediate sense of mortal peril averted; and this will reduce the compulsion that binds the alliance together. There will then be opened up disputable secondary questions which push apart the members of the alliance....These fissures will tend to become wider and deeper the more any one of the great powers seeks to aggrandize itself either at the expense of one of the other great powers, or at the expense of their smaller allies....A Russian policy of aggrandizement in Europe, one which threatened the national liberties of her neighbors, would inexorably be regarded as such a threat to Britain and America that they would begin to encourage the nations which resisted Russia....On the other hand, an anti-Russian policy in which Britain, America, and the European states sought, as they did in 1919, to blockade and even to disrupt Russia would provoke Russian communist intervention to counteract it.

Summary of Issues Affecting U.S.-Soviet Relations — 1946

Iran — The Soviet Union withdraws its occupying forces in March from northern Iran after strong protests from the United States. The communist governments that had been installed by the Soviets in those areas are easily disbanded by Iranian armed forces.

Greece — Civil war is being waged by the communist-led forces (ELAS) against the right-wing government, creating economic and political chaos. British military units in Greece and massive financial aid from Great Britain and the United States prevent the collapse of the Greek government.

Poland — Attempts to force the communist-dominated government to hold free elections and to allow meaningful participation within the government by non-communist parties do not succeed. The new Polish boundaries make Poland more dependent upon the Soviet Union for protection against a revived Germany.

France — A coalition government consisting of the three largest French political parties, including the communists, is attempting to maintain good relations with both the Soviets and the West. Fears of a rebuilt Germany continue to dominate French foreign policy.

Turkey — The Soviets continue to pressure the Turkish government for territorial concessions and joint control of the straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea. Soviet maneuvers near the border cause the Turkish government to seek foreign aid to modernize its army.

Czechoslovakia — Although still a parliamentary democracy, the coalition government is dominated by the Communist Party, which has substantial electoral support. The communists control the national police as well as the armed forces. The United States is holding up economic aid because American business interests have been nationalized and the issue of compensation is not settled.

Great Britain — The Labour government, experiencing a severe financial crisis, wishes to withdraw from some of Britain's worldwide commitments. The British have discussed with the United States government the possibility of the U.S. assuming some of these commitments. A very large U.S. aid package early in the year does little to revive the British economy.

Soviet Loan — The Truman administration declines to act upon Soviet requests made during the war for U.S. assistance to rebuild the Soviet Union. Increasing U.S.-Soviet tensions make this loan very unlikely.

United Nations — Emerging voting patterns reveal a split between the Western states and the Soviet Union and its allies. Increasing disagreements between these groups indicate that the Great Power collaboration upon which the United Nations was constructed is jeopardized by postwar disputes.

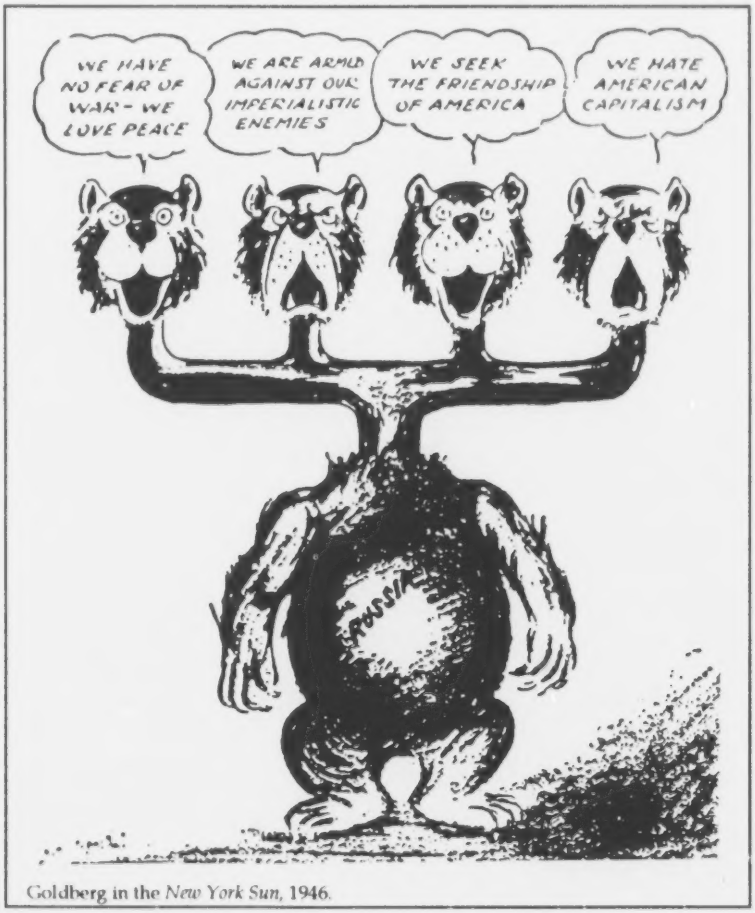
Western Communist Parties — The electoral strength of the Communist Party in several Western countries is considerable. In addition to Italy and France, where nearly 30 percent of the voters support the communists, the Communist Party enjoys significant popularity in nearly all of the other western European countries.

U.S. Demobilization — The United States government rapidly demobilizes its armed forces at the close of World War II. From a peak of about sixteen million, the U.S. armed forces now number about five million, and there is an expectation that they will be reduced even further.

Atomic Weapons — It is expected that the United States will retain its monopoly of atomic weapons for five to ten years. The United States proposes a plan to encourage the peaceful development of atomic power under international control, providing that nations developing atomic resources submit to United Nations authority.

Options in Brief

The confusion concerning Soviet intentions that existed in the United States shortly after the war is reflected in this 1946 editorial cartoon. (*Note:* Political cartoonists use animals or symbolic figures to represent nations. While the United States is usually represented by an eagle, Uncle Sam, or Lady Liberty, Russia, during both the Tsarist and Soviet periods, was represented as a bear.)


WE HAVE NO FEAR OF WAR - WE LOVE PEACE
WE ARE ARMED AGAINST OUR IMPERIALISTIC ENEMIES
WE SEEK THE FRIENDSHIP OF AMERICA
WE HATE AMERICAN CAPITALISM
RUSSIA

Goldberg in the *New York Sun*, 1946.

Questions for classroom discussion

1. Describe more fully the type of bear that each of these heads represents.
2. What evidence supports the existence of each of the "four bears"?
3. Does the cartoonist indicate which of the four bears he believes is the real one? Need there be only one real bear?

   Extra Challenge: Might a Soviet cartoonist at this time have drawn an American eagle with several different heads? If so, what might each of the heads be saying? What evidence might the Soviets cite to support the existence of these different heads?

The varying perceptions of the Soviet Union held by different U.S. decision-makers produced a wide spectrum of proposed foreign policy strategies. Four distinct options emerged during this debate. (*Note:* The four distinct options presented on the following pages are a simplification of the many somewhat overlapping positions advocated during this period. They reflect the major themes of the debate and do not correspond to the four heads of the above cartoon.)

Option 1 — Impose a Pax Americana (American Peace)

No nation in modern times has had the opportunity the United States has now to shape an entire world order. At this unique juncture in history, the United States has the power to lay the foundation for a new era of peaceful international relations and to ensure that the peoples of the world have the opportunity to prosper economically and to develop politically. The last war was fought in the name of freedom. Ultimately, the justice of our cause gave us the strength to overcome Nazi Germany and Japan. Our mission, however, is not complete until freedom is within the grasp of all peoples. The Soviet Union is now the greatest threat to a just world order. Just as the aggression of the Nazis should have been stopped in the 1930s, the ambitious schemes of the Soviets must be smashed now. The Soviets must be forced — by U.S. military power if necessary — to free those peoples whom they have deprived of self-determination. They must accept the new international order based on political and economic freedom.

Option 2 — Contain Soviet Communism

The two world wars have shown that the United States cannot distance itself from European nations that share our economic system and political values. Whether we like it or not, international relations in the postwar world will be dominated by a struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. Soviet leaders are convinced of their mission to extend communism throughout the globe. The United States cannot turn its back on the threat of Soviet expansion. Western Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Japan are too important to U.S. national interests to leave them vulnerable to Soviet aggression. By working with other free nations we can construct a strong barrier that will contain further Soviet expansion. Communism thrives only in conditions of misery, want, and strife. The United States and its allies must be vigilant in their efforts to contain its spread.

Option 3 — Co-exist and Compromise

With the defeat of Germany and Japan, the Allied nations are in a unique position to create a new international order based on the rule of law. As history has shown, peace is possible only when the most powerful countries of the world share common goals. The United States and the Soviet Union are different in many ways. But while we reject the Soviets' economic and political system, we share a mutual desire for peace. Now is the time to build on this area of agreement to ensure a future of international stability and legality. The United States can do its part to maintain peace by refraining from the threat or use of force, whenever possible. The best way to promote the interests of the peoples of eastern Europe would be to diminish the Soviet sense of insecurity.

Option 4 — Avoid Foreign Entanglements

With our victory in the last war, the security of the United States is assured. Americans can return again to making their lives better without foreign threats lurking over their shoulders. Our fortunate geographic position, with great oceans isolating us from the strife of Europe and Asia, enables us to defend our shores without bankrupting our economy. Further involvement in world affairs should be avoided. Especially dangerous are misguided plans to shape the world to fit American ideals. At a time when the risk of confrontation with the Soviet Union is high, such a policy would be both expensive and reckless. Americans understand that we prosper most when the power of the central government is kept at a minimum. The individual liberties that Americans hold so dear would be threatened by the unchecked growth of executive power fed by overseas involvement.

Option 1

Impose a Pax Americana (American Peace)

No nation in modern times has had the opportunity the United States has now to shape an entire world order. Our industrial production exceeds that of the Soviet Union and all other European countries combined. Our armed forces, equipped with atomic weapons, have no equal on the face of the earth. At this unique juncture in history, the United States has the power to lay the foundation for a new era of peaceful international relations and to ensure that the peoples of the world have the opportunity to prosper economically and to develop politically. The peaceful, prosperous world order of the future must be built upon the principles of national self-determination, democracy, economic freedom, and free trade. Self-determination requires that every nation have the right to determine its own destiny, free of external coercion and control. Free economic institutions, and free and equal access to the markets of the world are necessary to produce the prosperity that provides the necessary foundations for democratic institutions.

The last war was fought in the name of freedom. Ultimately, the justice of our cause gave us the strength to overcome Nazi Germany and Japan. Our mission, however, will not be complete until freedom is within the grasp of all peoples. The Soviet Union is now the greatest threat to a just world order. To allow the Soviet Union to continue to dominate many of the nations of eastern Europe, as well as areas of Germany, makes a mockery of those principles for which the United States fought and for which so many Americans sacrificed. Just as the aggression of the Nazis should have been stopped in the 1930s, the ambitious schemes of the Soviets must be smashed now. The leaders of the Soviet Union must be made to live up to the promises they have made. The Soviets must be forced — by U.S. military power if necessary — to free those peoples whom they have deprived of self-determination. They must accept the new international order based on political and economic freedom. Any delay on our part will enable the Soviet Union to consolidate its gains and make a reversal of its conquests much more costly. Future generations will not forgive us if we allow this opportunity to create a Pax Americana slip by.

Joe likes a firm handshake
Hutton in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1948

Building the Case for Option One

Excerpts from General George Patton's conversation with Secretary of the Army Robert P. Patterson, May 7, 1945:

Mr. Secretary, for God's sake, when you go home, stop this point system; stop breaking up these armies; give us an opportunity to keep 30 percent of our battlewise troops home on leave if you wish, etc. Send us replacements and let us start training here, keeping our forces intact. Let's keep our boots polished, bayonets sharpened, and present a picture of force and strength to these people [the Soviets]. This is the only language they understand and respect. If you fail to do this, then I would like to say to you that we have had a victory over the Germans and have disarmed them, but have lost the war....I would have your State Department, or the people in charge, tell the people concerned [the

Soviets] where their border is, and give them a limited time to get back across. Warn them that if they fail to do so, we will push them back across it....Let's not give them time to build up their supplies. If we do, then I repeat, we have had a victory over the Germans and disarmed them; we have failed in the liberation of Europe; we have lost the war!...We the Armed Forces of the U.S.A. have put our government in the position to dictate the peace. We did not come over here to acquire jurisdiction over either the people or their countries. We came to give them back the right to govern themselves. We must either finish the job now — while we are here and ready — or later under less favorable circumstances.

Excerpts from President Roosevelt's Atlantic Charter statement made jointly with British Prime Minister Churchill, August 12, 1941:

[We] desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;...respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;...will endeavor, with due respect for existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity....Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

Excerpts from President Truman's Navy Day speech, October 27, 1945:

The foreign policy of the United States is based firmly on fundamental principles of righteousness and justice. In carrying out those principles we shall firmly adhere to what we believe to be right; and we shall not give approval to any compromise with evil....Building a peace requires as much moral stamina as waging a war....It requires undying patience and continuous application. But it can give us, if we stay with it, the greatest reward that there is in the whole field of human effort....The possession in our hands of this new power of destruction [atomic weapons] we regard as a sacred trust. Because of our love of peace, the thoughtful people of the world know that that trust will not be violated....

Excerpts from President Wilson's speech on the Fourteen Points, January 8, 1918:

The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by....The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program, and that program, the only possible program, as we see, is this: open covenants of peace, openly arrived at....Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war....The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations....International guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into....An independent Polish state should be erected...whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant....For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace, such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war....An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak.

The United States should take the following steps:

1. Use all means necessary — including military force — to push the Soviets out of eastern Europe and to compel them to live up to the promises made at Yalta and in the United Nations charter.

2. Keep our military forces, both conventional and nuclear, so strong that the Soviet Union will back away from its aggressive behavior rather than risk a confrontation it cannot win.

3. Help the war-ravaged nations of Europe rebuild their economies according to American free-market principles.

4. Use our political and military might to ensure that all nations have access to the world's markets and resources and that all areas of the world be open to free trade.

Lessons from history

- Hitler taught us that appeasing aggressors does not achieve lasting peace. It only postpones the confrontation and makes it more costly. Therefore, aggression must be stopped when it happens.

- The failure of the democratic German Weimar Republic and the rise of Hitler were caused by Germany's economic collapse. Promoting economic prosperity in Europe is necessary to preserve democratic institutions and prevent the establishment of totalitarian regimes that endanger the peace.

- Restrictions on international trade after World War I led to the Depression and set the stage for World War II. Therefore, a system of free international trade must be established.

- Instability in Europe has drawn the United States into war twice in this century. To prevent another global conflict, we must take the lead in establishing a sound world order based on our values of freedom.

Arguments for option one

- By standing up to aggression now, we reduce the chances of another world war.

- The U.S. atomic monopoly and overwhelming industrial superiority make it unlikely that any aggressor would defy our wishes and challenge us militarily.

- The era of peace that this option will produce will bring new levels of economic prosperity to the United States as well as to other nations of the world.

- Today's circumstances give the United States an unprecedented opportunity to impose a just peace that will ensure that all nations' interests are fairly considered.

Option 2

CONTAIN SOVIET COMMUNISM

The two world wars have shown that the United States cannot distance itself from European nations that share our economic system and political values. As the largest and most powerful Western nation, we have no choice but to defend our partners in the free world. The defeat of Germany and Japan does not bring our international responsibilities to a close. On the contrary, the United States must not retreat to the head-in-the-sand isolationism that followed World War I. In an age of atomic weapons, there is no place to hide from international aggression. Whether we like it or not, international relations in the postwar world will be dominated by a struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. In many respects, Soviet communism presents a greater threat than that posed by Nazi Germany. Soviet leaders are convinced of their mission to extend communism throughout the globe. Not only do the Soviets reject our principles of democracy and freedom, but they believe that conflict between the capitalist nations and themselves is inevitable. The threat posed by this ideologically inspired aggressive state is unique in modern history, and the future of Western civilization hangs in the balance.

The United States cannot turn its back on the threat of Soviet expansion. Western Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Japan are too important to U.S. national interests to leave them vulnerable to Soviet aggression. By working with other free nations we can construct a strong barrier that will contain further Soviet expansion. Foreign aid can nourish democratic institutions and undercut the appeal of the communists in France, Italy, Greece, and other countries suffering from economic and political unrest. War with the Soviet Union is avoidable if we possess the will to stand up to Soviet military aggression. Our possession of the atomic bomb, a firm commitment to strengthening our armed forces, and our control of the oceans can be used to limit Soviet military actions. Fenced in by the power of the free world, Soviet communism will eventually wither and die, making room for a new generation of democratic Russian leaders. Communism thrives only in conditions of misery, want, and strife. The United States and its allies must be vigilant in their efforts to contain its spread.

But what part shall the meek inherit?

Charles G. Werner in *The Indianapolis Star*, 1949

Building the Case for Option Two

Excerpts from a telegram sent by George Kennan from the U.S. Moscow embassy to the State Department, February 22, 1946:

USSR still lives in antagonistic "capitalistic encirclement" with which in the long run there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence....[They believe that the] Capitalist world is beset with internal conflicts, inherent in the nature of capitalist society....Internal conflicts of capitalism inevitably generate wars... Everything must be done to advance relative strength of USSR...no opportunity must be

missed to reduce strength and influence, collectively as well as individually, of capitalist powers....At bottom of Kremlin's neurotic view of world affairs is traditional and instinctive Russian sense of insecurity....Soviet power, unlike that of Hitlerite Germany, is neither schematic nor adventuristic. It does not work by fixed plans. It does not take unnecessary risks. Impervious to logic of reason, and it is highly sensitive to logic of force. For this reason it can easily withdraw — and usually does — when strong resistance is encountered at any point....

We must see that our public is educated to realities of Russian situation....Much depends upon health and vigor of our own society. World communism is like malignant parasite which feeds only on diseased tissue....We must formulate and put forward for other nations a much more positive and constructive picture of sort of world we would like to see. Many foreign peoples, in Europe at least, are tired and frightened by experiences of past, and are less interested in abstract freedom than in security. They are seeking guidance rather than responsibilities. We should be better able than Russians to give them this. And unless we do, Russians certainly will....We must have courage and self-confidence to cling to our own methods and conceptions of human society. The greatest danger that can befall us in coping with this problem of Soviet communism, is that we shall allow ourselves to become like those with whom we are coping.

Excerpts from a memorandum to President Truman prepared by Clark Clifford, special counsel to the president, September 24, 1946:

[The Soviet leaders] with whom we hope to achieve an understanding on the principles of international peace appear to believe that a war with the United States and the other leading capitalist nations is inevitable. They are increasing their military power and the sphere of Soviet influence in preparation for the "inevitable" conflict, and they are trying to weaken and subvert their potential opponents by every means at their disposal....We should be prepared to join with the British and other Western countries in an attempt to build up a world of our own which will pursue its own objectives and will recognize the Soviet orbit as a distinct entity with which conflict is not predestined, but with which we can not pursue common aims....[We must] as a first step to world stabilization seek to prevent additional Soviet aggression. The greater the area controlled by the Soviet Union, the greater the military requirements of this country will be....The language of military power is the only language which disciples of power politics understand. The United States must use that language in order that Soviet leaders will realize that our government is determined to uphold the interests of its citizens and the rights of small nations....The prospect of defeat is the only sure means of deterring the Soviet Union....To maintain our strength at a level which will be effective in restraining the Soviet Union, the United States must be prepared to wage atomic and biological warfare....In addition to maintaining our own strength, the United States should support and assist all democratic countries which are in any way menaced or endangered by the U.S.S.R. Providing military support in case of attack is a last resort; a more effective barrier to communism is strong economic support....

Cooperation by the Soviets can result in increased trade....[However,] economic aid granted to the Soviet government or other governments within its sphere, and the fruits of private trade with persons inside these countries, will go to strengthen the entire world program of the Kremlin....Because the Soviet Union is a highly centralized state, whose leaders exercise rigid discipline and control of all governmental functions, its government acts with speed, consistency, and boldness. The United States can not afford to be uncertain of its policies toward the Soviet Union....The American people should be fully informed about the difficulties in getting along with the Soviet Union, and the record of Soviet evasion, misrepresentation, aggression and militarism should be made public....The United States should maintain military forces powerful enough to restrain the Soviet Union and to confine Soviet influence to its present area. All nations not now within the Soviet sphere should be given generous economic assistance and political support in their opposition to Soviet penetration.

The United States should take the following steps:

1. Provide foreign aid to free countries in Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, and Japan to enable them to resist Soviet encroachment and communist subversion.

2. Strengthen our armed forces — specifically our ability to wage atomic and biological warfare — in order to deter further Soviet aggression and contain the expansion of Soviet influence.

3. Educate the citizens of the United States and the free nations of the West concerning the true nature of the Soviet regime, its long-term threat to Western values, and the subversive role of the Communist Party in non-communist countries.

4. Cooperate militarily with non-communist countries so as to discourage Soviet attempts at expansion and ensure that non-communist governments have sufficient military resources to combat internal communist subversion and insurrection.

Lessons from history

• The Soviet threat is very different from that posed by Hitler's Germany. Since the Soviet leaders are motivated by an ideology that predicts inevitable world conflict and conquest, this threat is unique, with no historical parallels, and a new strategy designed to combat this global threat is necessary.

• While the Soviets have sought to take advantage of vulnerable nations along their border, they have ceased their actions when the risks became too great. The Iran crisis of early 1946 showed that the Soviets will back down when faced with determined opposition.

• Communism has grown only when the social fabric of a nation has been weakened by war, economic crises, or political strife. In nations with healthy economies and stable democracies, communism has had little appeal.

• For the past thirty years, Soviet leaders have condemned and attacked Western values of economic freedom and political liberty. There is no reason to believe that they will change their views or behavior in the foreseeable future.

Arguments for option two

• The Soviets respect force and will stop expanding when faced with military strength, thus avoiding a major confrontation.

• Any country that falls under Soviet control strengthens the Soviet Union in its worldwide attack against capitalism and Western values.

• The American way of life is threatened by the avowed goals of Soviet communism and those who follow the communist ideology.

• The costs of economic and political aid in the short run will be much less than the inevitable war that will come if the Soviet Union is allowed to become more powerful than the West. In the long run, this strategy will force the Soviets to modify their behavior and work with other nations in more traditional ways.

Option 3

Co-exist and Compromise

With the defeat of Germany and Japan, the Allied nations are in a unique position to create a new international order based on the rule of law. As history has shown, peace is possible only when the most powerful countries of the world share common goals. The United States and the Soviet Union are different in many ways. But while we reject the Soviets' economic and political system, we share a mutual desire for peace. Now is the time to build on this area of agreement to ensure a future of international stability and legality. The United States can do its part to maintain peace by refraining from the threat or use of force, whenever possible. This is particularly true in the case of our relationship with the Soviet Union. After losing more than 20 million people in the last war, the Soviets are naturally fearful of outside threats. This explains the actions of the Soviet Union in eastern Europe. These strategic moves are regrettable, but understandable. The Soviets feel they need a buffer of friendly states on their borders to protect themselves from invasion. With similar logic, the United States has dominated the Caribbean for most of this century. Installing Western-style democratic governments in the Soviet sphere of influence cannot be achieved short of another world war.

The best way to promote the interests of the peoples of eastern Europe would be to diminish the Soviet sense of insecurity. U.S. economic assistance for the Soviet Union and those countries within its orbit would reduce tensions, raise living standards, lay the foundation for expanding trade, and open up access to natural resources. Finally, the U.S. monopoly over atomic weapons and the resulting "saber rattling" heard from some of our leaders present a major obstacle to better U.S.-Soviet relations. This type of talk only strengthens the hand of those elements within the Soviet ruling class that do not favor cooperation with the West. These hard-liners use signs of U.S. hostility to justify further militarization of the Soviet economy. By establishing secure international controls over atomic weapons, we could eliminate this source of friction and take another important step toward shaping a world of peace and cooperation.

To hold it together!

Halladay in *The Providence Journal*, 1946

Building the Case for Option Three

Excerpt from testimony by General Dwight Eisenhower before the House of Representatives, November 15, 1945:

There is no one thing, I believe, that guides the policy of Russia more today than to keep friendship with the United States....

Excerpt from Secretary of War Henry Stimson's letter to President Truman, September 11, 1945:

Those relations may be perhaps irretrievably embittered by the way in which we approach the solution of the bomb with Russia. For if we fail to approach them now and merely continue to negotiate with them, having this weapon rather ostentatiously on our hip, their suspicions and their distrust of our purposes and motives will increase.

Excerpts from Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace's letter to President Truman, July 1946:

American [military] actions since V-J Day...make it appear either (1) that we are preparing ourselves to win the war which we regard as inevitable or (2) that we are trying to build up a predominance of force to intimidate the rest of mankind. How would it look to us if Russia had the atomic bomb and we did not, if Russia had ten thousand-mile bombers and air bases within a thousand miles of our coast lines and we did not. Some of the military men and self-styled "realists" are saying: "What's wrong with trying to build up a predominance of force? The only way to preserve the peace is for this country to be so well armed that no one will dare attack us. We know that America will never start a war." The flaw in this policy is simply that it will not work. In a world of atomic bombs and other revolutionary new weapons, such as radioactive poison gasses and biological warfare, a peace maintained by a predominance of force is no longer possible....Within a very few years several countries can have atomic bombs and other atomic weapons....The very fact that several nations have atomic bombs will inevitably result in a neurotic, fear ridden, itching-trigger psychology in all the peoples of the world, and because of our wealth and vulnerability we would be among the most seriously affected....Insistence on our part that the game must be played our way will only lead to a deadlock. The Russians will redouble their efforts to manufacture bombs, and they may also decide to expand their "security zone" in a serious way....

...Russian history for over a thousand years has been a succession of attempts, often unsuccessful, to resist invasion and conquest....It follows that to the Russians all of the defense and security measures of the Western powers seem to have aggressive intent....Our resistance to her attempts to obtain warm water ports and her own security system in the form of "friendly" neighboring states seems, from the Russian point of view, to clinch the case....[We should] allay any reasonable Russian grounds for fear....We should ascertain from a fresh point of view what Russia believes to be essential to her own security as a prerequisite to the writing of the peace and to cooperation in the construction of a world order. We should be prepared to judge her requirements against the background of what we ourselves and the British have insisted upon as essential to our respective security. We should be prepared, even at the expense of risking epithets of appeasement, to agree to reasonable Russian guarantees of security....It is of the greatest importance that we should discuss with the Russians in a friendly way their long-range economic problems and the future of our cooperation in matters of trade. The reconstruction program of the USSR and the plans for the full development of the Soviet Union offer tremendous opportunities for American goods and American technicians....

Excerpts from two books written by Walter Lippmann, one in 1943, the other in 1946:

We should not have learned the lessons of our failures in the past, especially the lesson of the failure of the League of Nations, if in our projects for organizing world peace we did not fix our attention first of all upon the powers capable of organizing it. Blueprints, covenants, contracts, charters, and declarations do not create living associations....The will of the most powerful states to remain allied is the only possible creator of a general international order....The worse one thinks of the Russians, the greater must be deemed the error of having elected to challenge the Russians first of all on the ground where they were most able to be, and were most certain to be, brutal, stubborn, faithless, and aggressive....To apply the methods of domestic politics to international politics is like using the rules of checkers in a game of chess....In a world of sovereign states conflicts are decided by power, actual or potential, for the ultimate arbiter is not an election but war.

The United States should take the following steps:

1. Recognize Soviet security interests in eastern Europe and stop encouraging groups in this area to resist the Soviets.

2. Avoid threatening the Soviet Union with our atomic monopoly and work for effective international control over the development of atomic power.

3. Focus on areas of mutual concern where there are some common interests, while using the United Nations as a forum to discuss differences and negotiate settlements.

4. Assist the Soviet Union and eastern Europe to rebuild, using U.S. expertise and economic assistance.

5. Avoid political and military alliances that might appear to the Soviets to be directed against them.

Lessons from history

- The aftermath of World War I demonstrated that world peace cannot be maintained without the cooperation of all the Great Powers. To exclude a Great Power such as the Soviet Union from the process guarantees failure.

- While friction between Great Powers is an inevitable result of the international system, the extent of such friction in the past has been limited through diplomacy. Differences in economic and political systems do not inevitably lead to war between nations.

- Just as the United States has been historically dominant in the Caribbean and has reacted strongly to other powers meddling in the area, so the Soviet Union has been historically dominant in eastern Europe and has interests in some areas of the Middle East. This is natural behavior for a powerful state.

- The wartime collaboration showed that the United States and the Soviet Union can work together on common areas of interest, even though they have very different political and economic systems.

Arguments for option three

- Contact and cooperation with the Soviet Union is the best way to expose the Soviets to the benefits of the American democratic system. Eventually, the Soviets will become more like us.

- U.S. assistance in the economic development of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe will lead to increased trade and access to raw materials, which will benefit the American economy and raise the American standard of living.

- Since the U.S. atomic monopoly will not last long, the destructive power of these weapons requires that all nations refrain from threatening behavior and confrontations. No longer can the world's leaders engage in traditional games of threat and bluff.

- Reduced defense expenditures will promote American economic prosperity. American citizens should be engaged in productive, peacetime occupations, not in nonproductive, military establishments.

Option 4

Avoid Foreign Entanglements

With our victory in the last war, the security of the United States is assured. Americans can return again to making their lives better without foreign threats lurking over their shoulders. Our fortunate geographic position, with great oceans isolating us from the strife of Europe and Asia, enables us to defend our shores without bankrupting our economy. The United States' two-ocean navy and air force equipped with atomic bombs are more than sufficient to ensure our freedom and protect those areas on the periphery of Europe and Asia that may be important to us. Further involvement in world affairs should be avoided. Especially dangerous are misguided plans to shape the world to fit American ideals. The people of each country should be allowed to work out their own problems in their own ways. The role of crusader is not only doomed to failure, as was demonstrated by the aftermath of World War I, but it also tends to corrupt the values that motivate the crusade. At a time when the risk of confrontation with the Soviet Union is high, such a policy would be both expensive and reckless.

President George Washington established the traditional U.S. policy of nonintervention in European affairs. This policy, faithfully followed until this century, has worked hand-in-hand with our system of economic freedom to bring the American people an unrivaled level of peace and prosperity. By shunning political and military commitments in Europe, the United States has avoided the economic burdens of maintaining oversized armed forces. Moreover, unlike the experience of many Europeans, Americans have not seen their democratic values and individual rights threatened by an overbearing military establishment. Americans understand that we prosper most when the power of the central government is kept at a minimum. The individual liberties that Americans hold so dear would be threatened by the unchecked growth of executive power fed by overseas involvement. Like military and political commitments abroad, dependence on overseas markets and resources leads to a build-up of a military establishment to protect and promote these interests. Foreign loans and credits, even when motivated by humanitarian concerns, more often than not produce friction. America can continue to prosper without excessive overseas economic commitments.

Some day they'll come crawling back to her

Joseph Parrish in *The Chicago Tribune*, 1949. © Chicago Tribune Company. Used with permission.

Building the Case for Option Four

Excerpts from President George Washington's Farewell Address, September 19, 1796:

Nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded and that in place of them just and amicable

feelings toward all should be cultivated....Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence,...the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake....The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible....Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns....Even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences.

Excerpts from President James Monroe's message to Congress, December 2, 1823:

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto [in power] as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none.

Excerpts from speeches by Senator Robert Taft, May 1943, August 1943, and January 1946:

[Suggestions that the United States police the world] are completely contrary to the ideals of the American people and the theory that we are fighting for liberty as well as security....It is based on the theory that we know better what is good for the world than the world itself. It assumes that we are always right and that anyone who disagrees with us is wrong....Other people simply do not like to be dominated....

It may appeal to the do-gooders who regard it as the manifest destiny of America to confer the benefits of the New Deal on every Hottentot....It can only lead to vast national armaments in all parts of the world....Our fingers will be in every pie. Our military forces will work with our commercial forces to obtain as much of the world trade as we can lay our hands on. We will occupy all the strategic points in the world and try to maintain a force so preponderant that none shall dare attack us....Potential power over other nations, however benevolent its purpose, leads inevitably to imperialism....

Money loaned to governments is not likely to be repaid if loaned in such tremendous amounts. That was our experience after the last war....I seriously question the wisdom of having one government lend money to another....In the long run, a country which cannot stand on its own feet is not likely to succeed through assistance from some other country. Every country must work out its own salvation....Loans from one government to another make for bad feelings. A man or a country is more likely to make enemies by lending money and asking for repayment than he or it is likely to make friends. Loans have been used and probably will be used in the future for political purposes, to tie one country more closely to another, to obtain concessions in the development of resources, and to form political blocs, which are a good deal more dangerous than economic blocs.

Excerpts from the testimony of Prof. Charles Beard before Congress debating the Lend-Lease Act, 1941:

Europe is old, Asia is old, the peoples and nations of Europe and Asia have their respective traditions, institutions, forms of government, and systems of economy....Europe and Asia have been torn by wars, waged under various symbols and slogans, since the dawn of recorded history. The history of Europe and Asia is long and violent. Tenacious emotions and habits are associated with it. Can the American people, great and ingenious though they be, transform those traditions, institutions, systems, emotions, and habits by employing treasure, arms, propaganda, and diplomatic lectures? Can they, by any means at their disposal, make over Europe and Asia, provide democracy, a bill of rights, and economic security for everybody, everywhere in the world?

The United States should take the following steps:

1. Avoid interfering in the disputes concerning Soviet influence in eastern Europe.

2. Keep our navy and air force strong enough to defend the Western Hemisphere and those areas along the periphery of Europe and Asia vital to our interests.

3. Avoid alliances, political or military, with any European power, particularly those directed against the Soviet Union.

4. Limit foreign aid to outright grants of financial assistance, rather than loans.

Lessons from history

- The United States has prospered for 170 years because we have avoided foreign commitments and the high level of military expenditures that such commitments require.

- The aftermath of World War I showed that we cannot remake the world according to American ideals. American ideals cannot be exported or imposed upon others.

- The economic dependence of the European powers on colonies in Asia and Africa has led to tangled political commitments and military involvement abroad. This was a major reason for the war among the European powers in 1914.

- The aftermath of World War I taught us that lending money to Great Britain, France, and other countries leads to hard feelings, friction, and, frequently, nonrepayment of debts.

- From the Roman Empire to Nazi Germany, history shows us that militaristic governments tend to repress the liberties of their citizens.

Arguments for option four

- We will minimize the chances of being drawn into the next European war by avoiding commitments to or alliances against any European power.

- Our economy will not be burdened with the heavy defense and foreign aid expenditures required by foreign commitments.

- Because of our geographic isolation and largely self-sufficient economy, the Soviet Union poses no vital threat to the United States in the long run.

- Americans will enjoy a full range of political and economic liberties only if the United States rejects policies that result in the build-up of a large military establishment.

- The U.S. navy and the air force, equipped with atomic weapons, can guarantee the security of the United States from attack.

Chronology – 1917-1950

1917	(April) (October)	The United States enters World War I Bolshevik (communist) revolution takes place in Russia
1918		Russia pulls out of World War I and makes a separate peace with Germany
1918-1920		U.S., British, French, and Japanese military units intervene in Russia
1933		The United States and Soviet Union open diplomatic relations
1938		France and Great Britain agree to Hitler's demands regarding Czechoslovakia at the Munich conference
1939	(August) (September)	German-Soviet non-aggression treaty includes agreement on dividing up Poland Germany invades Poland. France and Great Britain declare war on Germany
1940	(May-June)	Germany invades and defeats France
1941	(January) (June) (December)	President Roosevelt proposes Lend-Lease aid to Great Britain Germany attacks the Soviet Union The United States enters the war against Germany, Japan, and Italy
1942	(December)	The United States and Great Britain lead the Allied invasion of North Africa
1943	(February) (September) (November)	Soviets defeat Germans at the battle of Stalingrad Allies invade Italy First Big Three conference among Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt held in Teheran
1944	(June)	Allies invade France
1945	(February) (April) (May) (July) (August)	Big Three meet at Yalta Truman succeeds Roosevelt as president Germany surrenders Big Three meet at Potsdam The United States drops two atomic bombs on Japan, forcing the Japanese to surrender
1946	(February) (March)	Soviet armed forces withdraw from northern Iran Churchill warns of Soviet "Iron Curtain" in eastern Europe
1947	(March) (June)	President Truman requests aid for Greece and Turkey, laying out the foundations of the Truman Doctrine Secretary of State Marshall proposes U.S. aid program for Europe
1948	(February) (June)	A Soviet-backed coup brings communists to power in Czechoslovakia The Soviets blockade West Berlin, forcing the United States to supply the city by air
1949	(April) (August) (September)	North Atlantic Treaty Organization established Soviets successfully test their first atomic bomb Communists gain power in China
1950	(June)	North Korea attacks South Korea, prompting the United States to send troops to turn back the invasion

Selected Biographies of 1945-47 Political Figures

Dean G. Acheson

BORN: *April 11, 1893; Middletown, Connecticut* DIED: *October 12, 1971; Silver Spring, Maryland*

Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, 1941-44; Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, 1945; Undersecretary of State, 1945-47; Secretary of State, 1949-53

In June 1945 Dean Acheson assumed the post of undersecretary to James Byrnes, secretary of state under President Truman. Since Byrnes spent a large portion of his time abroad, Acheson served as acting secretary. He briefed President Truman daily on foreign affairs and became a strong supporter of the economic reconstruction of western Europe. Acheson also supported a recovery loan to the new government of Poland, which was widely considered to be a puppet of the Soviet Union. Acheson argued for international controls of atomic energy, fearing that the Soviet Union soon would possess the bomb and a suicidal arms race would result. During the early months of the postwar period, Acheson supported a policy of conciliation with the Soviet Union. However, as a result of Soviet actions in Iran and Turkey, he joined George F. Kennan in warning that the Soviet Union was a power bent on world conquest, and urged the U.S. to develop policies to resist Soviet expansion.

In 1947, Acheson played a major role in the formation of the Truman Doctrine. He urged Congress to extend immediate military and economic assistance to the Greek government in its war against communist insurgents. Acheson also became involved in the formulation of the Marshall Plan. In 1948, President Truman asked Acheson to replace the ailing George Marshall as secretary of state.

Winston L. Churchill

BORN: *November 30, 1874; Oxfordshire, Great Britain* DIED: *January 24, 1965; London, Great Britain*

Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1940-1945

Leader of Great Britain through World War II, Winston Churchill played a major role in the Allied victory over the Axis po. ers. Churchill met with Roosevelt and Stalin several times during the war. He developed a close relationship with Roosevelt and was shaken by the president's death. Churchill resigned as prime minister in May 1945 following the Labour Party victory in the British elections. But, he continued to play an active role in Parliament and international politics. In March 1946, he delivered his famous speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, warning of Soviet expansionism; calling for an Anglo-American alliance to counter the Soviets; and setting the tone for the Cold War. Churchill wrote prolifically during his lifetime. Among his more well-known works were *The Second World War* and *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*. He was recipient of many honors and awards, including the Nobel Prize for literature in 1953.

Clark M. Clifford

BORN: *December 25, 1906; Fort Scott, Kansas*

Special Counsel to the President, June 1946 – February 1950

Clark Clifford had a personal friendship with Truman, who appointed him special counsel to the president. Clifford was a major force in molding what came to be known as the containment policy against the Soviet Union. According to Clifford, the Soviet leaders adhered to "the Marxian theory of ultimate destruction of capitalist states by Communist states." Thus, he insisted that the U.S. must be prepared to wage atomic and biological warfare to contain the Soviet Union. Clifford helped write Truman's March 12, 1947 speech to Congress, which became the foundation of the Truman Doctrine. He convinced Truman to recognize the state of Israel in 1948, and he developed the strategy for Truman to win the 1948 presidential election.

George F. Kennan

BORN: *February 16, 1904; Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

Charges d'Affairs, Moscow Embassy, 1944-46; Chairman, Policy Planning Staff, State Department 1947-49; Counselor, State Department, 1949-50; Ambassador to the Soviet Union, 1951-52

Through the Second World War and thereafter, George Kennan maintained a strong stance against Soviet communism and a skepticism of Soviet-American collaboration. In February 1946, Kennan wrote in the "Long Telegram" to the State Department that Soviet policy was "based on the ideological conviction of the inevitability of socialist-capitalist conflict. To avoid being encircled by capitalist powers, Stalin would strengthen his control at home and surround himself with friendly client states." In 1947, Kennan wrote "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," which appeared in *Foreign Affairs* under the name "Mr. X." In the article, Kennan warned of Soviet expansionist tendencies and suggested the application of "counterforce." While many in Washington interpreted such a term to involve military measures for containment, Kennan later argued that containment did not have to be military, but could be political and economic.

Walter Lippmann

BORN: *September 21, 1889; New York, New York* DIED: *December 14, 1974; New York, New York*

Columnist for Everybody's Magazine, The New Republic, New York World, and the New York Herald Tribune

During the war, Walter Lippmann advised Americans to base their diplomacy on "realpolitik." Lippmann proposed that the United States, USSR, and Great Britain recognize each others' spheres of influence to prevent future conflict. These three nations could then form a coalition to check the rise of Germany and Japan, the only two nations that could threaten the status quo. Lippmann warned the Western allies not to challenge the future of Soviet hegemony in eastern Europe. He hoped for a neutralized eastern Europe under Soviet influence but not oppression. Lippmann believed America's major interest was in the Eastern Mediterranean, on the vital oil routes to western Europe. Thus, he endorsed the President's request to send aid to Greece and Turkey in 1947. Opposing the policy of containment, Lippmann instead proposed disengagement by both powers. Disengagement, he predicted, would restore some democracy to eastern Europe because Russia would not have to fear penetration from the West. For many of his contemporaries, Lippmann was the most widely respected American political commentator of his era.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

BORN: *January 30, 1882; Hyde Park, New York* DIED: *April 12, 1945; Warm Springs, Georgia*

President of the United States, 1933-1945

President of the United States during the Great Depression and World War II, Franklin D. Roosevelt remains one of the foremost figures in modern history. While he pledged to keep the United States out of foreign wars, the United States entered the war against Japan and Germany under Roosevelt's presidency. A master of personal diplomacy, Roosevelt commanded the respect of Allied leaders Churchill and Stalin. Roosevelt's meetings with Churchill and Stalin in Teheran and Yalta shaped the arrangement of the world for decades to come. In the years after Roosevelt's death in 1945, Roosevelt's agreements, particularly those with the Soviets, were harshly criticized. Many believed that the president had made too many concessions to the Soviets, allowing them to set up communist governments in Poland and other parts of eastern Europe. Some also argued that Roosevelt's urging the Soviet Union to enter the war against Japan allowed the Soviets powerful and undue influence in East Asia. Regardless, Roosevelt's support for the founding of the United Nations Organization and his strong concern for the security of peoples throughout the world led to the powerful international position the United States has assumed since the end of World War II.

Josef Stalin

BORN: *December 9, 1879; Gori, Georgia (formerly Russian Empire)* DIED: *March 5, 1953; Moscow, USSR*

General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, April 1922 – March 1953

General secretary of the Soviet Communist Party for over thirty years and supreme commander of the armed forces during World War II, Josef Stalin was the dominant figure in the Soviet Union during the postwar period. Stalin played a major, direct role in relations with his allies, meeting twice with Churchill in Moscow and three times with the leaders of Britain and the United States (Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam). He shrewdly and tenaciously defended Soviet interests during these meetings and succeeded in gaining acceptance of a Soviet military presence deep in central Europe. While the Soviet view is that U.S. policy was aggressive and Stalin's was defensive, others argue that Stalin's policy was expansionist, based on Marxism-Leninism or traditional Russian imperialism. Whatever the case, the Cold War developed and crystallized during Stalin's regime.

Robert A. Taft

BORN: *September 9, 1889; Cincinnati, Ohio* DIED: *July 31, 1953; New York, New York*

Republican Senator, Ohio, 1939-53

Robert Taft represented the Midwestern, conservative-isolationist wing of the Republican party. Taft did not want the United States to get involved in World War II, nor in international organizations that emerged after the war's end. Taft's conservatism was shaped by his reverence for the Constitution and his belief in the freedom of the individual. He opposed the establishment of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, thinking that official investment abroad would lead to unwanted foreign entanglements and even war. Taft feared that the U.S. military and official economic presence abroad would lead to imperialism. Thus, while he voted for the 1947 Greek-Turkish aid bill, he questioned the Marshall Plan and attempted to cut its funding, and he refused to support the ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949. Taft opposed U.S. intervention in Europe, yet he was ambivalent about American involvement in Asia, and did desire to stop the spread of communism in Asia.

Harry S Truman

BORN: *May 8, 1884; Lamar, Missouri* DIED: *December 26, 1972; Kansas City, Missouri*

Vice President of the United States, January – April 1945; President of the United States, April 1945 – January 1953

On April 12, 1945 Roosevelt died and Harry Truman assumed the presidency. Truman was completely inexperienced in international relations and anxious to assert himself on questions dividing the Allies. While he initially hoped to continue Roosevelt's policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union, his determination to assert himself signaled to the Soviets a harsher stand.

Despite Soviet intransigence, Truman initially declined to use U.S. military might to pressure Stalin. Truman rejected Winston Churchill's suggestion that the U.S. Army push further into central Europe during the closing days of the war to give the West a better bargaining position after the armistice. Truman believed that the best way to handle the Soviet Union was "to stick carefully to our agreements and to try our best to make the Russians carry out their agreements." Firsthand experience with Soviet intransigence gradually moved Truman to a more militant position on the Soviet Union by 1946. He accepted George Kennan's view that the Soviet Union was an expansionist power and that the United States would have to "contain" the USSR. While he continued to call for international control of atomic energy, he insisted on terms that made it difficult for the Soviets to accept. Truman and his advisers established the cornerstones of the containment policy during 1947 and 1948, giving his name to what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine.

Henry A. Wallace

BORN: *October 7, 1888; Adair County, Iowa* DIED: *November 18, 1965; Danbury, Connecticut*

Vice President of the United States, 1941-1944; Secretary of Commerce, March 1945 – September 1946; presidential candidate, Progressive Citizens of America, 1948

During his early months as secretary of commerce, Henry Wallace was primarily interested in developing free trade agreements to promote disposal of surplus industrial and agricultural goods. By ending trade barriers, Wallace argued, the threat of a postwar depression would vanish. The Soviet Union played a major role in Wallace's thought. He believed that good relations with the USSR were necessary to ensure free trade and a peaceful postwar world. In 1946, Wallace became increasingly outspoken in his criticism of the administration's firm stance against the Soviet Union. Wallace suggested that the U.S. recognize Russia's sphere of influence in eastern Europe in return for recognition of American interests in Latin America. He hoped that the Soviet Union would keep eastern Europe open to American trade, and usher in a period of peaceful competition between the capitalist and communist world as a result. Because of his criticism of the administration's foreign policy, he was asked to resign in September 1947.

In December 1947, the Progressive Citizens of America chose Wallace as its candidate in a third party drive for the presidency. Wallace attacked the Marshall Plan, criticized the Truman Doctrine, and promised peace with Russia. Although he failed to carry any states in the 1948 election, he remained a strong liberal voice on domestic and foreign policy.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan

Homework: Before beginning the unit, students should read "Historical Background" and complete "Study Guide — Historical Background." An *Extra Challenge** study guide is also available..

DAY ONE

Understanding the postwar world

Objective: This discussion will introduce students to the points of conflict that emerged in U.S.-Soviet relations at the close of World War II.

1. Briefly review student responses to the study guide questions. (For more advanced students, this review can be incorporated into the discussion of "April 1945" and "March 1946.")

2. Distribute "April 1945." Ask students to imagine themselves back in the spring of 1945 as they review the excerpts. Are the points of friction that they read about the previous night mentioned in any of these sources? What overall impression of U.S.-Soviet relations is conveyed? What accounts for this attitude?

3. Distribute "March 1946" and instruct students to read the excerpts. How has the tone of the excerpts changed? What accounts for the shift in attitude?

Extra Challenge: Ask students to compare the techniques employed by the two cartoonists featured in the handouts. How do they communicate a complex political message with a simple drawing? Do they distort or merely highlight the message? Which means of communication — the speeches or the cartoons — is more effective?

4. Explain that on Day Two the class will simulate a meeting of the three Western powers and the Soviet Union convened in the summer of 1946 to discuss general security issues. Divide the class into four groups to represent the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, and France. Give each group its respective "Background Briefing." Also distribute "Study Guide — Background Briefing" and "Comparative Statistics — 1945-1948" to each student.

Homework: Students should prepare for the Day Two role play by reading their respective "Background Briefing" and completing "Study Guide — Background Briefing." *Extra Challenge:* Students should read all of the background briefings, but complete the study guide only for their respective country.

DAY TWO

Security concerns of the Big Four

Objective: This role play will clarify the security concerns of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, and France in 1946.

1. Choose several members of the class to act as recorders and give each "Instructions to Recorders." Allow the groups several minutes to organize their presentations. If necessary, appoint a spokesperson for each group. Give each group about five minutes to present its security concerns. (The map illustrating the political situation in Europe in 1946 can either be used as a handout or made into a transparency.)

2. At the conclusion of the presentations, ask the recorders to summarize the positions of the four major powers. Encourage the groups to challenge the presentations of other countries.

* *Material designated "Extra Challenge" is appropriate for advanced students.*

Extra Challenge: Ask students to discuss the security concerns of the four states in relation to their geography. Have them consider the proposition that geography determines history. Ask students to discuss the geopolitical strategies of the Great Powers in the decades preceding World War II.

Homework: Students should read "Summary of Issues Affecting U.S.-Soviet Relations — 1946" and complete "Questions for Review."

DAY THREE

Options for U.S. foreign policy — 1946: organization and preparation

Objective: This two-day simulation will introduce students to contrasting strategies for U.S. foreign policy in the fall of 1946 as they analyze, advocate, and critique the four options.

1. Briefly review student responses to "Questions for Review." Answer any questions that students might have but try to avoid going into too much detail on any particular issue. The objective is for students to realize the variety and seriousness of the issues that were in dispute between the United States and the Soviet Union by early fall 1946.

2. Lead the class in a discussion of the cartoon preceding "Options in Brief." Call on students to examine the options. Explain that these options represent four distinct positions advocated by U.S. decision-makers during the 1945-47 period. In fact, many decision-makers moved from one position to another during this period and some actually advocated contradictory options at the same time. Make sure that students recognize the different perceptions of the Soviet Union embodied in each option.

Extra Challenge: Call on students to identify the values implied in each option. What role is implied for the United States in each option? Are these roles that the United States has traditionally played? What historical precedents come to mind?

4. Divide the class into four groups and assign each group an option. Explain that on Day Four the class will re-enact the debate that took place in the United States in late 1946 concerning the direction of U.S. foreign policy. Caution the groups that their presentations must be based only on information available at the time of the actual debate.

Homework: Students should read their respective options and complete "Considering Your Option."

DAY FOUR

Options for U.S. foreign policy — 1946: debate and discussion

1. Allow the groups several minutes to organize their presentations. If necessary, appoint a spokesperson for each group. In large classes, consider assigning two groups to each option. Give each group five minutes to present its option.

2. Provide time for cross-examination after all of the options have been presented. Emphasize that there is no single correct position, but do not attempt to achieve a consensus. Let each group briefly recapitulate its position at the conclusion of the simulation.

Homework: Students should review all of the options and complete "Focusing Your Thoughts" and "Crafting Your Option." *Extra Challenge:* Students should address a one-to-two page position paper to President Truman advocating their option.

DAY FIVE

Crisis and consensus

Objective: This exercise will enable students to apply the option they have developed to a particular problem through the process of argument and consensus-building.

1. Divide the class into groups of eight to ten students. Make sure that each group includes students who advocated each of the four options during the Day Four simulation. Ask students to imagine that the time is March 1947, and that a crisis has developed in the Eastern Mediterranean.

2. Distribute "Crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean — March 1947" to each student. Charge each group with the task of developing a joint recommendation regarding:

   a. What actions, if any, should the United States take?
   b. How should these actions, if any, be presented to the American people?

3. Instruct students to initially recommend to their fellow group members actions consistent with the option they crafted. At the same time, the group as a whole should seek to fashion a collective response to the questions above. If a consensus does not emerge quickly within a group, suggest that students identify the values they share to serve as the foundation of a joint recommendation. Ten minutes before the end of the class period, call on each group to report on its consensus recommendations.

Homework: Students should read "Epilogue: The Truman Doctrine — 1947" and answer the study questions.

Name: _____

Study Guide — Historical Background

1. People often say, "Politics makes strange bedfellows." One could also say, "Wars make strange bedfellows." In what respects were the United States and the Soviet Union "strange bedfellows" during World War II?

2. Can you think of other wars in which U.S. allies shared few of our values?

3. Why was the fate of Poland so important to both the United States and the Soviet Union? (Remember where and why World War II began.)

4. The primary objectives that shaped U.S. strategy during World War II were:
   a. End the war as quickly as possible
   b. Defeat Nazi Germany first
   c. Minimize American casualties

   Explain why these objectives conflicted with the Soviet demands for a second front.

5. What does the cartoon suggest about the relations among the Big Three during the war?

6. Why is there no hint of the tensions among the Big Three in the cartoon?

Name: _____

Study Guide – Historical Background

Extra Challenge

1. It is not unusual for victorious nations to fall out of favor with each other after they have defeated a common enemy. Long before World War II, the United States actually waged an undeclared war against a former ally. When was it and what caused the war? (*Hint:* Who was the most important ally of the United States during the American Revolution?)

2. The United States and the Soviet Union interpreted agreements reached at the Yalta Conference very differently. Read the following excerpt from the joint declaration issued at Yalta:

   [We call] *for the establishment of a Polish Provisional Government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of the western part of Poland. The Provisional Government* [installed by the Soviets] *which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad....This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates....*

   a. Which phrases seem subject to different interpretations?

   b. Do you think that the Big Three were aware of this ambiguity?

   c. Why do you think they issued a statement that was ambiguous?

   d. What would the American people expect from this language?

April 1945

News Report – *The New York Times, April 27:*
The United States and Russian armies have met on the Elbe. The Western and Eastern fronts are at last linked up and Germany is cut in two....Two armies of plain men who had marched and fought from the blood-splashed beaches of Normandy and the shattered streets of Stalingrad have met on the Elbe in the heart of Germany, splitting the Third Reich and sealing the doom of the German army, whose tread shook the world only three short years ago.

Statement by President Harry S Truman – *April 27:*
The union of our arms in the heart of Germany has a meaning for the world which the world will not miss. It means, first, that the last faint desperate hope of Hitler and his gangster government has been extinguished. The common front and the common cause of the powers allied in this war against tyranny and inhumanity have been demonstrated in fact as they have long been demonstrated in determination. Nothing can divide or weaken the common purpose of our veteran armies to pursue their victorious purpose to its final Allied triumph in Germany.

Second, the junction of our forces at this moment signalizes to ourselves and to the world that the collaboration of our nations in the cause of peace and freedom is an effective collaboration which can surmount the greatest difficulties of the most extensive campaign in military history and succeed. Nations which can plan and fight together shoulder to shoulder in the face of such obstacles of language and of communication as we have overcome, can live together and can work together in the common labor of the organization of the world for peace.

Editorial – *The New York Times, April 28:*
The junction of the Russian and American armies, which came halfway around the world to meet on a common battlefield, is a symbol of this new unity. It is a symbol great enough to represent the power and the purpose, not only of the two nations immediately involved, but the power and purpose of all the peoples of all the United Nations who have joined hands in winning this war and safeguarding the peace that lies ahead....Before the armies of the United States and Russia could meet on the banks of a German river, mutual suspicion of long standing had to be overcome, a new basis of confident friendship had to be constructed.

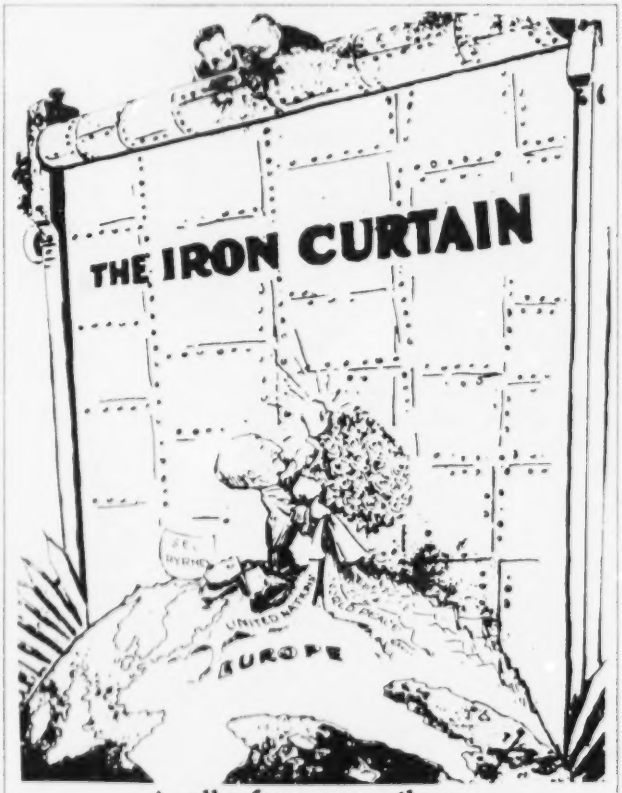
He can't break this handclasp!
Harper in the *Birmingham News-Herald*, April 1945

March 1946

Speech delivered by former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill – *March 5, 1946, at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. (President Truman was on the platform when the former British leader spoke.):*
The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. With primacy in power is also joined an awe inspiring accountability to the future.... A shadow had fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future....I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my war-time comrade Marshal Stalin, it is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of central Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow....Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy....

...At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British armies withdrew westward, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points 150 miles on a front of nearly 400 miles to allow the Russians to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the western democracies had conquered....Whatever conclusions may be drawn from these facts – and facts they are – this is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.



A caller from across the sea
(The "caller" is U.S. Secretary of State James Byrnes)
Jay N. Darling in *The Des Moines Register*, March 1946

I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines....I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for military weakness.

There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe....It could have been prevented...but no one would listen....We surely must not let that happen again....Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth....If the population of the English-speaking commonwealth be added to that of the United States, with all that such cooperation implies in the air, on the sea and in science and industry, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security...the highroads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time but for a century to come.

Background Briefing — Soviet Union

The Soviet people suffered terribly during the last war. More than 20 million of our citizens perished in the battle against fascist aggression. Our total battlefield and civilian losses exceeded the combined losses of all the other Allied powers. Our country was devastated by more than three years of Nazi occupation. Our agricultural heartland was crippled and much of our industrial structure was destroyed.

Led by Marshal Stalin and guided by the wisdom of the Communist Party, the peoples of the Soviet republics, with their courage and blood, crushed the Third Reich. This victory demonstrated the strength and superiority of our Soviet system, which confronted the full might of the combined fascist armies while the Western Allies delayed their promised second front for two years. Despite the high price that we paid for victory over Germany, we fulfilled promptly our promise to enter the war against Japan within three months of Germany's surrender. This promise had been made to the British and Americans, who knew that they could not bear the cost of defeating Japan themselves. The overwhelming blows that our armies delivered to the forces of Japan in Manchuria brought a quick and unconditional surrender. By paying one of the highest prices in history, the Soviet Union has earned the right to postwar peace and security.

Never again will Russia be vulnerable to attack from the west. Our security requires that those countries in eastern Europe which lie between the Soviet Union and potential aggressors be ruled by governments friendly to the Soviet Union. The prewar situation in which many of these countries were pro-fascist and anti-Soviet cannot recur. Specifically, Poland must not allow the prewar clique of right-wing, anti-Russian politicians to regain control. These same hate-mongers launched an unprovoked attack upon the Soviet Union shortly after World War I. In addition, Poland was the country through which the German invasion of 1941 took place. The lies that elements of the reactionary prewar government have been spreading about alleged Soviet atrocities are slanderous to the Red Army and to the progressive, democratic national forces that now lead these countries.

The capitalist powers in the West have indicated their hostility to the Soviet Union many times. Their joint military intervention in 1918-1920; their attempt to isolate the Soviet Union in the 1920s; and their infamous deal with Hitler at Munich in 1938 all reveal the hatred of the ruling capitalist cliques in the West for the Soviet system. The capitalists' struggle is made more desperate by the realization that their contradiction-filled capitalist world is decaying and will inevitably be replaced by a more progressive, socialistic system. Already, within several Western countries, such as France, Italy, and Greece, large numbers of working people have turned to the Communist Party for leadership.

Because of its major role in the defeat of Japan, the Soviet Union was entitled to share in the postwar occupation and governing of Japan, just as the Soviet Union agreed to share the occupation and governing of postwar Germany with the three Western powers. The denial by the United States and Great Britain of this legitimate request and the refusal of the Americans and British to share the occupation of Italy with the forces of the Soviet Union indicate the desire of these countries to reserve for themselves positions of political and economic dominance in these areas. The desperate quest of imperialistic capitalism to control overseas markets has turned much of the world into private spheres of influence. Just as World War I was caused by the rivalry of the capitalist powers for spheres of influence, foreign markets, and military superiority, so this dangerous trend threatens the peace of the world today.

Shortly before the end of the last war, we requested an extension of credits from the United States to assist us in the rebuilding of our war-damaged country. As the nation that had suffered the most from the war and paid the highest price for victory, the Soviet people thought it reasonable that those nations that had also profited from the victory assist in this task. Also, U.S. officials had indicated that such credits — allowing us to purchase American goods — would help the American economy deal with the postwar problems of overproduction. The abrupt cancellation of Lend-Lease shipments and the rude manner in which our loan request was handled has forced the Soviet Union to rely upon its own resources to rebuild the country. Just as the Soviet people made sacrifices during the 1920s and 1930s to industrialize our backward nation, so will the workers of the Soviet Union gladly respond to our government's call for another Five-Year Plan requiring the postponement of

individual needs for the greater good of the Socialist Fatherland.

The efforts of discredited representatives of the war-mongering capitalist cliques, such as Mr. Churchill, to stir up trouble between the former wartime allies must be resisted. Mr. Churchill, who has been turned out of office by the British people, has called for an alliance of British and U.S. power to deny the Soviet people their reasonable and hard-won postwar needs. We can only hope that more realistic and sober-minded leaders — in the tradition of President Roosevelt — will overcome these dangerous tendencies among our former allies. Similar efforts in the United Nations Organization to construct an anti-Soviet coalition consisting of the capitalist states, their colonies, and their clients have been checked only by the veto that the Soviet Union possesses to protect its vital interests.

Let all nations understand that the Soviet Union will not be intimidated by the United States' build-up of atomic weapons. We will never submit to atomic blackmail and will do everything necessary to achieve a balance of military power.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and their government desire peace, not war; economic justice, not exploitation; and security, not conquest. After defeating the forces of fascist aggression, we hope to preserve the spirit of international cooperation that made victory possible.

Extra Challenge

Excerpts from a speech by General Secretary Josef Stalin, February 9, 1946:

It would be incorrect to think that the war arose accidentally or as a result of the fault of some of the statesmen. Although these faults did exist, the war arose in reality as the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism. Our Marxists declare that the capitalist system of world economy conceals elements of crisis and war, that the development of world capitalism does not follow a steady and even course forward, but proceeds through crises and catastrophes. The uneven development of the capitalist countries leads in time to sharp disturbances in their relations and the group of countries which consider themselves inadequately provided with raw materials and export markets try usually to change this situation and to change the position in their favor by means of armed force....Thus, as a result of the first crisis in the development of the capitalist world economy, arose the First World War. The Second World War arose as a result of the second crisis.

Now victory means, first of all, that our Soviet social system has won, that the Soviet social system has successfully stood the test in the fire of war and has proved its complete vitality....The war has shown that the Soviet social system is a truly popular system, issued from the depths of the people and enjoying its mighty support....The war has shown that the Soviet multinational state system has successfully stood the test, has grown still stronger during the war and has proved a completely vital state system....Our victory implies that it was the Soviet armed forces that won. Our Red Army had won. The Red Army heroically withstood all the adversities of the war, routed completely the armies of our enemies and emerged victoriously from the war....

In our country the Communist Party reversed the usual path of industrialization and began the industrialization of our country with the development of heavy industry. This was very hard but not impossible to achieve....It was necessary to make large-scale agricultural economy a collectivist one....There can be no doubt that only thanks to this firmness and grit did the Communist Party come out on top, not only in industrialization but in the collectivization of agriculture as well....A few words on the plans for the work of the Communist Party in the near future....The fundamental task of the new Five-Year Plan consists in restoring the areas of the country which have suffered, restoring the prewar level in industry and agriculture, and then exceeding this level by more or less considerable amounts....The party intends to organize a new mighty upsurge of national economy, which will enable us to increase the level of our production, for instance, threefold as compared with the prewar level....Only under such conditions will our country be insured against any eventuality.

Excerpts from an interview with General Secretary Josef Stalin, March 14, 1946:

I assess it [Churchill's speech at Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946] as a dangerous act calculated to sow the seed of discord among the Allied governments and hamper their cooperation....One is reminded remarkably of Hitler and his friends. Hitler began to set war loose by announcing his racial theory, declaring that only people speaking the German language represent a fully valuable nation. Mr. Churchill begins to set war loose also by a racial theory, maintaining that only nations speaking the English language are fully valuable nations, called upon to decide the destinies of the entire world....Nations have shed their blood during five years of cruel war for the sake of liberty and the independence of their countries, and not for the sake of exchanging the lordship of Hitler for the lordship of Churchill. It is, therefore, highly probable that the nations not speaking English and which, however, make up an enormous majority of the world's population, will not consent to go into new slavery....

One cannot forget the following fact: the Germans carried out an invasion of the USSR through Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. The Germans were able to carry out the invasion through these countries by reason of the fact that these countries had governments inimical to the Soviet Union....The Soviet Union has lost in men several times more than Britain and the United States together....What can be surprising in the fact that the Soviet Union, in a desire to ensure its security for the future, tries to achieve that these countries should have governments whose relations to the Soviet Union are loyal? How can one, without having lost one's reason, qualify these peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union as "expansionistic tendencies" of our government?...Contemporary democratic Poland is led by outstanding men. They have shown in deeds that they know how to defend the interests and worth of their homeland, as their predecessors failed to do....Former enmity between Poland and Russia has given place to friendship between them, and Poland, present democratic Poland, does not wish any longer to be a playing ball in the hands of foreigners....

Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Hungary are governed by several parties...the opposition, if it is loyal, is guaranteed the right to participate in the government. This, Churchill calls totalitarian and the government of police....The growth of the influence of communism cannot be considered accidental. It is a normal function. The influence of the communists grew because during the hard years of the mastery of fascism in Europe, Communists showed themselves to be reliable, daring and self-sacrificing fighters against Fascist regimes for the liberty of peoples....Millions of common people, having tried the Communists in the fire of the struggle and resistance to fascism, decided that the Communists deserve completely the confidence of the people. Thus grew the Communist's influence in Europe. Such is the law of historical development.

Background Briefing — United States

For the second time this century, the United States has been called upon to mobilize its people and resources to defeat aggressor nations bent on world domination. Although the historical position of the United States has been to avoid quarrels in foreign lands and to shun the centuries-old practice of conquest and exploitation so characteristic of Europe and Asia, the American people have generously shouldered the primary burden of defending democracy and Western civilization. The United States believes that its security and the security of the other nations of the world will be achieved not through territorial changes, nor through the establishment of spheres of influence and puppet governments, but through the implementation of those principles for which the United Nations fought the last war.

The occupied former Axis powers must be purged of influences that produced the last war. These nations must be reconstructed along democratic principles to prevent the resurrection of militarism. The United States views with concern the lack of cooperation by the Soviet representatives to the joint commission governing Germany. The efforts of the Soviets to set up a puppet Communist Party in their zone and to undermine with propaganda the administration of the three western zones are not consistent with their wartime pledge to cooperate in the restructuring of postwar Germany. In addition, their continuing policy of robbing the Soviet zone in Germany of its industrial production undermines the Allied goal of making Germany self-sufficient. The cost to the American taxpayer of the occupation and reconstruction of the U.S. zone is large, and the sooner national institutions are created in Germany, the sooner this burden will cease.

Moscow's financial support and direction of the Communist Party in certain western European countries, like France and Italy, threaten the integrity of these nations. The communists are attempting to take advantage of the economic and political dislocations of the war to disrupt the democratic values of these nations and to establish minority communist regimes taking their orders from Moscow. In some nations, like Greece, these anti-democratic forces are waging a ruthless civil war against the legitimate government. By encouraging such threats to the peace, the Soviet Union endangers the cooperative relationship developed during the war and contradicts the professed desire of the Soviets for peaceful relations between themselves and the West.

The economic prosperity upon which postwar security depends requires that all nations have free access to the resources and markets of the world. The last war demonstrated that we live in an interdependent world and that the struggle for exclusive economic and political control over areas that led to World Wars I and II can no longer be permitted. The American experience demonstrates that economic freedom leads both to economic prosperity and to the strengthening of democratic values. The actions of the Soviet Union in eastern Europe have cut off millions of Europeans from the benefits of such free trade and are forcing them into economic systems that deny basic human rights.

World trade and prosperity require that the major waterways of the world be open to the free, unimpeded use of all nations. Attempts by the Soviet Union to gain control over the straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea would threaten the free use of this vital waterway. The pressure applied by Moscow on the government of Turkey for military, territorial, and political concessions is contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, in which the founding states renounce the use or threat of force in their relations. While we support negotiations between nations over common issues, such negotiations cannot be conducted in an atmosphere of threats or intimidation.

The fundamental right of people to choose freely their own form of government and the promises made at Yalta concerning Poland are being violated by the Soviet Union in areas of eastern Europe under the control of the Red Army. Specifically, democratic parties have not been given the opportunity to participate freely in the political life of Poland and "free, unfettered" elections have not yet been held. The Soviet Union gives no indication of its intent to fulfill these solemn pledges. On the contrary, throughout eastern Europe, the Communist Party has been installed in positions of power by Soviet forces. Even in Czechoslovakia, where some semblance of democracy remains, the Soviet Union

Permission granted for duplication

has exerted its power to ensure that communist politicians control key ministries in the coalition government. The imposition of minority governments against the will of the majority was a practice employed by the Nazis. We hope that era has passed.

A reduction in armaments is essential for world peace and security. Nations possessing large armies deprive themselves of the manpower that would be employed in productive economic activities and threaten the security of their neighbors. Again, the years prior to World War I and II illustrate this costly lesson. While the United States government has demobilized most of the sixteen million men who had been in its armed forces during the war, the Soviet Union continues to maintain a very large army. Elements of the Red Army are occupying many nations in eastern Europe and inhibiting the development of free institutions in these nations. The sheer size of these enormous armies causes insecurity in nations to the west.

The United States promises that it will hold in trust for mankind the vast power of the atom that was developed during the war. The economic benefits that peacetime atomic energy can provide should be made available to all nations of the world. The United States is committed to the principle of international control over the development of atomic power. Until such effective international mechanisms for control can be established, the United States will not seek to exploit its sole possession of these fearsome weapons, but will keep its atomic forces to ensure the preservation of the peace.

Using armed force to extort concessions from smaller neighbors, such as the Soviet Union has done in northern Iran this year, is a flagrant violation of United Nations principles and resembles the aggressive behavior of Hitler's Germany before the last war. The violation of Iran's territorial sovereignty by Soviet forces, and the establishment of two communist-dominated puppet governments in areas occupied by the Soviets were a breach of the peace that the United States could not accept. The United States is pleased that the Soviet forces finally have been withdrawn from Iranian territory and assumes that there will not be a recurrence of this type of activity.

The spirit of wartime cooperation that characterized relations among the United Nations allies is sadly lacking today in the meetings of the United Nations Organization because of the provocations and obstructionistic tactics of the Soviet representatives. The people of the world, weary from war, have turned to the United Nations as the best hope for the future, but the efforts of the majority, representing the freedom-loving countries of the world, are being thwarted by a minority consisting of the Soviet Union and its client regimes.

The American people feel nothing but good will toward the Soviet people. We admire the sacrifices that they made in the fight against fascism and wish to work with them in building a safe, secure world. However, the attitudes and actions of the Soviet government puzzle the American people and lead them to question whether the Soviet Union is really committed to world peace.

Extra Challenge

Excerpts from a speech by President Truman on Navy Day, October 27, 1945:

We have assured the world time and time again — and I repeat it now — that we do not seek for ourselves one inch of territory in any place in the world. Outside of the right to establish necessary bases for our own protection, we look for nothing which belongs to any other power....We seek to use our military strength solely to preserve the peace of the world. For we now know that this is the only sure way to make our own freedom secure....Let me restate the fundamentals of the foreign policy of the United States:

1. We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage. We have no plans for aggression against any other state, large or small. We have no objective which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other country.

2. We believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force.

3. We shall approve no territorial changes in any

friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

4. We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice, without interference from any foreign source....

5. By the combined and cooperative action of our wartime allies, we shall help the defeated enemy states establish peaceful democratic governments of their own choice....

6. We shall refuse to recognize any foreign government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power. In some cases it may be impossible to prevent forceful imposition of such a government....

7. We believe that all nations should have the freedom of the seas and equal rights to the navigation of boundary rivers and waterways and of rivers and waterways which pass through more than one country.

8. We believe that all states which are accepted in the society of nations should have access on equal terms to the trade and the raw materials of the world....

9. We believe that the sovereign states of the Western Hemisphere, without interference from outside the Western Hemisphere, must work together as good neighbors in the solution of their common problems.

10. We believe that full economic collaboration between all nations, great and small, is essential to the improvement of living conditions all over the world, and to the establishment of freedom from fear and freedom from want.

11. We shall continue to strive to promote freedom of expression and freedom of religion throughout the peace-loving areas of the world.

12. We are convinced that the preservation of peace between nations requires a United Nations Organization composed of all the peace-loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force if necessary to insure peace.

...Differences of the kind that exist today among nations that fought together so long and so valiantly for victory are not hopeless or irreconcilable. There are no conflicts of interest among the victorious powers so deeply rooted that they cannot be resolved. But their solution will require a combination of forbearance and firmness. It will require a steadfast adherence to the high principles which we have enunciated. It will also require a willingness to find a common ground as to the methods of applying those principles.

Traditionally, the British people have ensured their security and independence by preserving the balance of power in Europe. The existence of Great Britain would be threatened by the domination of the European continent by any hostile power that could deprive Britain of access to European markets and resources, and endanger its sea lifelines to the British Empire. The wars against Napoleon, Imperial Germany, and Hitler's Germany were fought not for territorial gains nor for martial glory, but to restore the balance of the European system. From the fall of France in May 1940 until June 1941, Britain stood alone fighting the forces of Nazism. The physical damage suffered from five years of incessant air bombardment and U-boat attacks; the lives lost in campaigns on three continents; and the enormous drain upon British financial resources have left Britain greatly weakened and unable at this time to ensure, by her own efforts, the security and prosperity of her people.

Central to British security is the continuation of the special relationship with the United States that developed during the last war. As the two great freedom-loving democracies of the world, we must work together to promote our shared values based upon our common heritage. The responsibility for maintaining an open European system, which Britain shouldered exclusively for many years, must now be shared with the Americans. The Americans have learned the bitter lesson of the two World Wars that lawlessness and aggression in faraway regions of the Eurasian continent can lead to threats to the security of their own continental nation thousands of miles away. The British contribution to this Anglo-American partnership will be impressive. The British system of worldwide military bases, British experience in foreign affairs, and the resources of its empire will complement American industrial strength and manpower.

Since the last war demonstrated that Great Britain's concentrated centers of population and industry are vulnerable to air attacks, we are particularly concerned with the development of atomic weapons that can wipe out entire cities. Given the fact that the atomic bomb was the fruit of wartime collaboration between Great Britain and the United States, we trust the Americans to maintain responsible custody over these weapons and to employ them only as a last resort, for the protection of our shared values. As a great power, however, Britain cannot rely exclusively on any other country for its security. Consequently, we too are obliged to develop our own atomic weapons. An atomic arsenal would be the most effective deterrent to a hostile nuclear attack on our country. Such a course should not be seen as jeopardizing our special relationship with the United States.

The British people are grateful to the Soviet people for the sacrifices they made during the last war and are sympathetic to the legitimate security interests of the Soviet Union regarding its western border. Just as Great Britain expects that its historical, economic, and political interests in certain areas of the world will be respected, so the British government recognizes the historical basis for Russian influence in much of eastern Europe. However, the British government views with alarm the recent attempts to expand Soviet control beyond those areas traditionally dominated by Russia.

Actions by the Soviet representatives to the joint commission governing Germany have consistently blocked the rebuilding of Germany along democratic lines and the reconstruction of the German economy. An economically healthy, free Germany, purged of extreme nationalism and militarism, is a prerequisite for the re-establishment of stable, open relations among European states. Soviet demands for reparations from the British zone will, if met, endanger this goal by impoverishing Germany. After World War I, the harsh conditions of the Versailles Treaty made it impossible for the democratic Weimar Republic in Germany to survive, and led to conditions that promoted the Nazis' rise to power. Poverty and political instability breed domestic instability, which can endanger the peace and security of other nations. The elevation of the German Communist Party to a position of unrivaled dominance in the Soviet zone seems to indicate the intentions of the Soviets to retain control of their occupation zone and to thwart the long-range goal of German unification and redevelopment. These Soviet actions in Germany and the incessant propaganda attacks upon the administration of the western zones may force the United States and Great Britain to achieve, through closer integration of their occupation zones, this goal

on their own. The heavy cost which German occupation places upon the national budget of Great Britain can be reduced only by the development of a unified, economically sound Germany.

Great Britain also views a free, democratic France as necessary to the maintenance of European security. Soviet financial support and direction of the French Communist Party, and Soviet-inspired propaganda that seeks to undermine the democratic forces within France and to foment unrest are a disturbing development.

Recent Soviet actions in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean appear to threaten historical British interests. Since the end of the war, the Soviets have attempted to force the Turkish government to accept joint control of the straits connecting the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, and to grant them bases on Turkish territory. They have also sought to acquire naval bases in North Africa and have delayed withdrawing their troops from the joint occupation of Iran. All of this seems to be a concerted attack on traditional British interests. In addition, Soviet-inspired propaganda seeks to promote anti-British feelings in these countries. Historically, Britain has possessed vital national interests in the area stretching from Greece in the west to India in the east, and from Turkey in the north to Egypt in the south. While the present British government has renounced the outmoded colonialism of past British governments, this area and the lifeline to the empire that runs through the Mediterranean must be kept open to the British economic and political influence. On numerous occasions over the past 100 years, ranging from small border actions to the two world wars, British military forces have been employed to maintain this vital interest. Any increase in Soviet influence in this area would probably result in a decrease of British influence, and a loss of British influence in this area would mean a loss of our Great Power status.

The security of Great Britain requires unimpeded access to its far-flung empire across the world's oceans and seas. Second only to the vital Atlantic link is our communications and trade lifeline through the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the South China Sea to our colonies and dominions in Southeast Asia and the western Pacific. To protect this lifeline, military installations must be maintained. The establishment by a potentially hostile power of military installations along our line of communications will not be tolerated.

The harsh economic legacy of the past war has been a difficult load for the British people to bear. With the generous assistance of the U.S. government, the British government has been engaged in the reconstruction of its industrial and population centers. While some continued loans and credits may be necessary in the near future, we expect shortly to recover the economic and financial stability that will enable us to continue to fulfill our commitments as a Great Power.

The British government has no vital interests that conflict with the legitimate security concerns of any other nation and the British people wish to retain the friendship of the Russian people that was forged during the last war. Consequently, the British government remains willing to work with the Soviet government to reduce tensions and resolve issues of common concern.

Extra Challenge

Excerpts from a Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee report to the British Cabinet, March 1, 1946:

The long term aim of the Russian leaders is to build up the Soviet Union into a position of strength and greatness commensurate with her vast size and resources....They are determined that the development of Russia's national resources shall not again be disturbed by enemy attack, and are consequently preoccupied with the military security of the Soviet Union....They will consider it important to create and consolidate round the frontiers of Russia a "belt" of satellite states with governments subservient to their policy. Consequently we consider that at any rate the short term aim of Russia is to avoid any course of action which...may provoke a war in which the British Commonwealth or the United States participate against her....Meanwhile, if Russia considers attempts are being made to

undermine her position in the countries already comprising her "belt" she will retaliate by using all weapons, short of major war....Russia will seek by all the above means short of war, to frustrate these attempts. She will make full use of propaganda, of diplomatic pressure and of the Communist parties abroad both to this end and to weaken foreign countries....Russia will seek, by all the above means, short of major war, to include within her "belt" further areas which she considers it strategically necessary to dominate. Turkey and the major part of Persia [Iran] are such areas, since the southern frontier of the U.S.S.R. has at present no such protective "belt." In choosing such territories Russia will, for diplomatic reasons, direct her main effort towards those areas where she calculates that she will not come up against firm combined resistance from the United States and Great Britain....Elsewhere she will adopt a policy of opportunism to extend her influence wherever possible without provoking a major war, leaving the onus of challenge to the rest of the world. In pursuing this policy she will use...Communist parties in other countries and certain international organizations.

Excerpts of cables sent from the Moscow British embassy to the Foreign Minister, March 17, and March 21, 1946:

There is one fundamental factor affecting Soviet policy dating back to the small beginnings of the Muscovite state. This is the constant striving for security of a state with no natural frontiers and surrounded by enemies....Until 1945 Britain and Russia were never left face to face....Now all that has changed....The only other world power is the U.S.A. and there is clearly no reason why Britain and Russia should be brought to combine against her as a menace to their interests or to the peace of the world. Therefore Britain and Russia are now in immediate contact as never before....The Soviet Union....approaches a partner, whom she regards as potentially hostile, endeavours to exact the maximum advantage for the Soviet Union, if possible without any return, and, having obtained what she wants, reopens this issue or raises another at the earliest possible moment in order to achieve the next item on her programme....The rulers of the Soviet Union do not believe in the same things which Western democracies believe in...they are incapable of doing so....

Every effort is being made to develop the Soviet Union into the most powerful state in the world....The second objective is to weaken capitalist or social-democratic countries in every way....Everything possible will be done to keep the Americans and ourselves apart....The full weight of Soviet propaganda, and where possible active support, will be brought to bear in favour of the so-called oppressed colonial peoples and against imperialist domination....

Soviet policy in Middle East is developing so consistently with the existence of an all-embracing conception that I cannot believe that, if it is left to the Russians, Soviet expansion will stop at achieving a security belt, even if this included domination of Turkey and of Persia. Soviet attitude over Levant and Egypt and similar clumsy propaganda campaign just beginning in respect of Iraq, coupled with clumsy Soviet overtures in respect of Dodecanese and Tripolitania [Libya in North Africa] suggest a design to extend Soviet influence throughout Arab world and in Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean....

Excerpts from a British Chiefs of Staff report to the Cabinet, April 18, 1946:

Recent developments make it appear that Russia is our most probable potential enemy....In a conflict with Russia the early and whole-hearted participation of the U.S.A. on our side would be vital....The sea and air communications in the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans which link our main support areas are of vital importance....We should take the necessary political, economic and military measures to maintain our position and influence in Western Europe, the Middle East and South-East Asia.

Background Briefing — France

Three times during the past seventy years France has suffered unprovoked attacks from Germany. In 1870, 1914, and 1940 larger and better-equipped German armies defeated our armies and occupied sections of our country. Germany continues to be for us the major threat to the peace. The population of Germany, even after its wartime losses, exceeds ours, and the coal and iron resources of Germany far exceed ours. Just as Germany rebounded quickly from its defeat in 1918, so we fear that unless the victorious allies act decisively, Germany will again threaten the security of its neighbors. The following steps must be taken to guarantee the peace of the postwar period.

The Rhineland, the area forming the long western border between Germany and France, must be detached from Germany. By denying future German armies the Rhineland as a staging area, the likelihood of another invasion can be decreased. Also, the Ruhr Valley region, the major iron- and coal-producing area of all Europe, must not be under the control of any future German government. France, which was the world's largest importer of coal before the war, must have guaranteed access to the resources of this vital area if it is to develop its industries and fulfill the energy needs of its people. Just prior to the war, we imported an average of 400,000 tons of coal per month from this area. Now, we can obtain only 130,000 tons of coal per month. This is crippling France's recovery.

The allies must ensure that the Germany they reconstruct, while economically healthy, does not have the strongly centralized national government that made the invasions of 1870, 1914, and 1940 possible. To achieve this end, political power in the new Germany must be decentralized and located in the individual Lander (states) that make up Germany. The aftermath of World War I showed that France's allies could not be counted upon to cooperate with France to keep Germany from redeveloping its military potential. Therefore, Germany must be structured so as to make such a development impossible. We strongly oppose the efforts of the British, Americans, and Soviets to develop centralized German institutions designed to coordinate German reconstruction.

While we appreciate the efforts of our wartime allies in defeating the forces of Nazism and in liberating France from German occupation, we realize that for various reasons we cannot depend upon them to ensure French security in the future. The British, who historically share with us a fear of a militaristic Germany, are experiencing severe economic hardships, and have difficulty financing the occupation of their zone of Germany. They now have reduced their army from 4.7 million soldiers in 1945 to 1.1 million in 1946. We recognize the strong domestic political pressures within Great Britain to scale back Britain's worldwide commitments and military establishment. The Americans, as the events of the 1920s demonstrated, cannot be depended upon to remain committed to the preservation of peace in Europe. The United States also has reduced its ground forces dramatically, from 12 million last year to fewer than 3 million today. Thus, Europeans must look to themselves for their own security needs.

Russia is France's oldest ally in Europe. The Franco-Russian alliance of 1894 was a major step in European efforts to check the threat of German militarism. Twice this century, we and the Russians have experienced unprovoked aggression from our common, powerful neighbor. In 1944, even before the war ended, we entered into a friendship treaty with the Soviets in which we pledged to cooperate against any future German threat and to refrain from entering any alliance directed against the other. The fact that during this fifty-year period of cooperation with Russia our domestic forms of government have been very different — France is a democratic republic and Russia is now a communist-dominated, single-party state and was an autocratic monarchy — has not prevented close cooperation in security concerns. In fact, several months ago the Soviet government, despite the Soviet Union's own economic difficulties, sent us a large shipment of wheat to help us deal with our food crisis. We oppose efforts by certain politicians in the United States and in Great Britain to create a gulf between the Soviet Union and the Western allies. France wants to remain on friendly terms with both the Soviet Union and the other Western democracies.

The French Communist Party is a responsible member of the three-party coalition that currently governs France. The French voters have given the

Communist Party a large share of the popular vote (nearly 30 percent) in recent elections, and we reject the notion that the French Communist Party is controlled by Moscow. While it is true that the Communist Party has consistently urged closer ties with the Soviet Union, it is clear that this is in the security interests of France.

Our efforts to recover the Great Power position that France has occupied for many centuries will depend heavily upon our reasserting control over our colonial possessions. The U.S. government has publicly criticized French colonial policies and this causes us great concern. Similarly, actions by the British government in the Middle East appear designed to force France out of its historic position of influence in certain countries of that area (Lebanon and Syria). Both the Americans and the British must realize that a healthy, democratic France requires the resources of its restored Empire. Also, the anti-colonial propaganda that the Soviet government has been directing to this area endangers France's vital interests.

France will require extensive U.S. assistance in rebuilding, and in constructing the modern industrial society upon which its future prosperity and security will depend. The $750 million U.S. aid package received earlier this year is a major step in this direction. Unfortunately, the resources of the French zone of occupation in Germany are much less than those of the British and U.S. zones. While the British and U.S. zones combined contain 78 percent of German coal production and 80 percent of German steel-making capacity, the French zone contains only 8 percent of the coal production and 12 percent of the steel capacity. Consequently, France must insist upon reparations from the other zones. Also, full restitution in kind must be paid by Germany for all French goods and equipment forcibly removed by the Nazis during the occupation.

In conclusion, France does not want to see the world's powers split into two antagonistic camps. The French people want to remain on friendly terms both with other Western nations and the Soviets, for only in doing so can we prevent the reappearance of a strong militaristic Germany, which we recognize as our primary security concern.

Extra Challenge

Excerpts from an article by French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, July 1946:

The troubles of the war-shattered world are like a tangled skein....The skein is full of knots, and the main knot is Germany....Only yesterday the breeding place of war, today a fathomless gulf, Germany is in truth the world's Number One problem....From the French point of view, the German question is first of all a problem of security. In this connection, no one in the world will deny that geographically and politically France constitutes a nerve center, and that when it is struck the most serious and far reaching repercussions invariably follow....When France declares that her security and by implication world security call for certain measures, her suggestions would seem at least to be worthy of sympathetic examination....

The security of Europe and the world requires that Germany be deprived indefinitely of the war potential represented by the resources and raw materials of the Rhine-Westphalian region, and that the Rhine districts shall never again be able to serve as a zone of passage, arsenal and base for invasion. The mines of the Sarre, transferred to French ownership by the Versailles Treaty, must again become French property, with as corollary the inclusion of that territory in the French customs and monetary systems, the two economies being complementary. As for the Ruhr, Europe's immense treasure-house, consisting of coal mines and the factories associated with them, employing in normal times five million workers, the French Government considers that, in conformity with the general interests of humanity, it must be treated as a political entity independent of Germany and placed under a regime of internationalization both political and economic....

Should a "hard" peace be imposed on Germany?...Is it harsh to deprive an inveterate transgressor of the means of repeating his offense?...Despite the evil

they have done to us, we French know that the German people are endowed with many good qualities: they are hard working, disciplined, and inventive. Unhappily, they are also endowed with a tendency to use those qualities in a dangerous way....The problem is not how to keep Germany in a state of misery, but on the contrary how to pull her out of it without in the process producing a new catastrophe for the world and for peace....

The argument is also made that in this epoch of the atomic bomb it is an obsolete conception to suppose that France would gain additional security by occupying the Rhineland and thus pushing her military cover some 30 miles beyond her own border. The obvious response to this contention is that precautions of the same kind have been taken along other frontiers, despite the existence of rocket planes and other lightning weapons....What France in fact proposes to do is to deprive Germany of the arsenal of the Ruhr but to establish there an economic regime which will permit the freest possible exchange of goods with both the west and the east, including, naturally, the rest of Germany....The coal which formerly sustained the Hitlerite aggression now comes in such meager amounts to warm our homes and run our factories....

We French are not haunted by werewolves. The realities we have suffered are so bitter that we distinguish them quite easily from shadows. However, we are aware that if the phantom is given the opportunity, it will once again put on flesh. Nor is this by any means an exclusively French conviction. All the pacts of mutual assistance signed in Europe during the past year have been directed against the German peril, showing that it does not seem in the least theoretical to Germany's near neighbors. The instinct of nations is to feel that the firmest union in peace is based on the realities that drew them together in war.

Comparative Statistics — 1945-1950

	United States	Soviet Union	Great Britain	France
Area (square miles)	3,023,000	8,390,000	94,000	213,000
Population	151,000,000	193,000,000	48,000,000	39,700,000
WWII Deaths **military** **civilian**	292,131	10,000,000 15,000,000	298,000 100,000	167,000 400,000
Armed Forces **1946**	5,000,000	5,000,000(+)	2,950,000	735,000
Gross National Product **1950**	$381 billion	$126 billion	$71 billion	$50 billion
Form of Government	2 -party democratic republic	single-party dictatorship	2-party parliamentary democracy	multi-party parliamentary democracy
Aircraft Production **1945**	50,000	21,000	12,000	not available
Steel Production **(mil. tons) 1948**	80	21.5	13 (1945)	2 (1945)
Electricity (mil. kwh, **monthly average) 1945**	18,000	3,600	3,106	1,464
Coal (mil. tons)				
1945	631	149	186	35
1946	582	164	193	49
Defense Budget , 1950	$14.5 billion	$15.5 billion	$2.3 billion	$1.4 billion
Percent GNP Spent **on Defense, 1950**	3.8	12.3	3.2	2.8
International Balance **of Payments**				
1945 imports:	$4 billion	not available	$4.5 billion	$4.5 billion
1945 exports:	$9.5 billion	not available	$1.75 billion	$2 billion
1946 imports:	$5 billion	not available	$5.25 billion	not available
1946 exports:	$9.5 billion	not available	$3.75 billion	not available

Name: _____

Study Guide — Background Briefing

Instructions: You are representing your country at a meeting of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, and France held in the summer of 1946. The purpose of the conference is to discuss ways to reduce tensions and minimize threats to the peace. Since your country was one of the victorious powers in World War II and serves as one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, you feel entitled to shape the postwar world to promote your national security interests and well-being. To assist you in preparing a convincing presentation of your country's security concerns, carefully answer the following questions after you have read the background briefing.

1. What are your country's specific security concerns?

2. What issues and values, fundamental to your country, lie behind these concerns?

3. What are the historical precedents for these concerns?

4. In your judgment, what attitudes do the other powers at the conference hold toward your country?

5. What evidence supports your perception of these attitudes?

6. According to the perspective of your country, what are the major threats to postwar peace?

Name: _____

Instructions to the Recorders

Big Four Conference

Instructions: Your job is very important to the success of today's activity. At the conclusion of the presentations from the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, and France you will be asked to compare and contrast the differences among the four positions. Not all of the issues will be addressed by each of the four countries. The representatives will speak only on what they feel is important to their country's security. If an issue is not mentioned, you may assume that it is not of high priority. This is an important point to be brought out in your summary. Representatives of countries often appear to talk past one another at international conferences. This is because they are often looking for bargaining advantages or are tailoring their remarks for another audience — perhaps world opinion or their own countrymen. Unlike domestic political debates, in which the participants expect to reach an agreement or consensus through bargaining, in international politics countries frequently expect to live with fundamental disagreements rather than compromise on issues that they feel are vital to their interests. For each of the countries, answer the following questions:

1. What are the primary security concerns expressed by each country?
   a. Soviet Union:

   b. United States:

   c. Great Britain:

   d. France:

2. What are the ideas or values which seem to lie behind these concerns?
   a. Soviet Union:

   b. United States:

   c. Great Britain:

   d. France:

3. What are the "lessons of history" upon which these concerns are based?
   a. Soviet Union:

   b. United States:

c. Great Britain:

d. France:

4. How does each country perceive the attitudes of the other three nations?
   a. Soviet Union:

   b. United States:

   c. Great Britain:

   d. France:

5. What evidence does each country cite to support its perceptions?
   a. Soviet Union:

   b. United States:

   c. Great Britain:

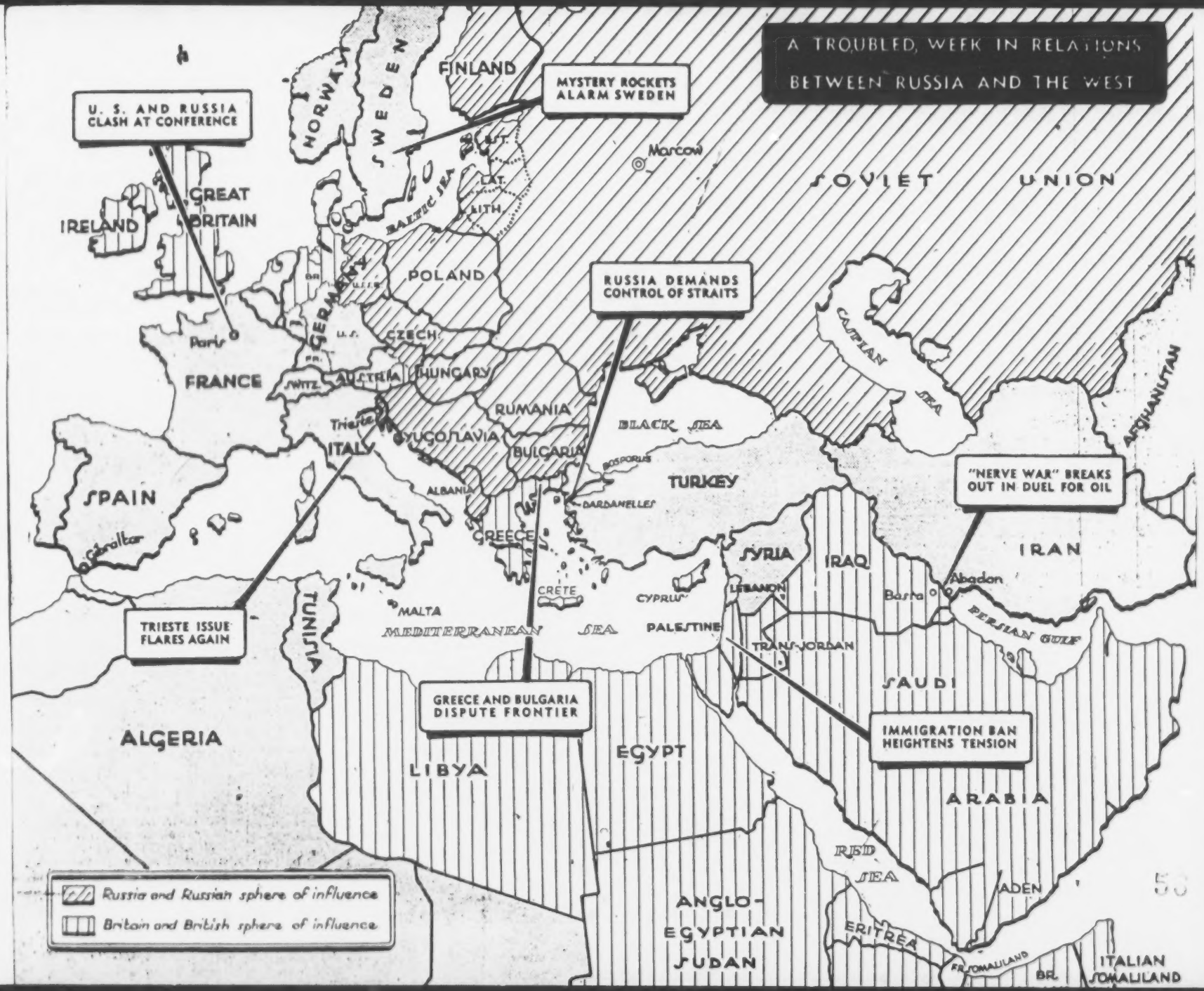
   d. France:

6. According to each country, what are the major threats to world peace?
   a. Soviet Union:

   b. United States:

   c. Great Britain:

   d. France:



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53

Name: _____

Questions for Review

Summary of Issues Affecting U.S.-Soviet Relations – 1946

1. In your judgment, what are the three most important issues for the United States? Explain your choices.

2. Which are the three easiest issues to resolve? Explain your choices.

3. Which are the three most difficult issues to resolve? Explain your choices.

4. Which of these issues are caused by misunderstandings? Which are based on fundamental conflicts of interest?

Name: _____

Considering Your Option

Instructions: The year is 1946. Your group has been called upon to advise President Truman about the course of U.S. foreign policy. Your assignment is to persuade the president that the United States should adopt your option. After reading your option, answer the questions below from the viewpoint of your option. This worksheet will help you prepare your presentation. Keep in mind that your group's presentation may include only information that was available in the fall of 1946.

1. According to your option, what role should the United States play in the world?

2. According to your option, how should the outcome of World War II affect the direction of U.S. foreign policy?

3. According to your option, what should our attitude be toward the Soviet Union?

4. According to your option, what should we learn from history in charting the course of U.S. foreign policy?

5. In summary, why should the United States adopt your option?

Name: _____

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions: You have been asked by President Truman to recommend a strategy for the United States to adopt toward the Soviet Union. You may borrow heavily from one of the options, combine ideas from two or three options, or take a new approach altogether. There is no right or wrong answer. You should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. To help you clarify the values and assumptions upon which you will base your recommendations, consider each of the following value statements and assumptions. Rate each according to your personal beliefs and values.

1 = strongly support
2 = support
3 = oppose
4 = strongly oppose
5 = undecided

___ The United States should not interfere in the affairs of other countries.

___ Large nations always will dominate their smaller neighbors.

___ The United States should use its power to promote political and economic freedom abroad.

___ Countries should be forced to live up to their agreements.

___ The United States should take all steps necessary to prevent another world war.

___ Every nation has the right to self-determination.

___ Free, open trade with a prosperous Europe is vital to the health of the American economy.

___ Lending money to foreign countries creates resentment and problems in repayment.

___ The advent of atomic weapons means nations should no longer go to war or threaten war.

Ranking the Four Options

Which of the four options already discussed do you prefer? Keep in mind that the value statements and assumptions that you support most strongly should guide your choice. Rank the options below, with "1" being your first choice.

___ **Option 1 — Impose a Pax Americana (American Peace)**

___ **Option 2 — Contain Soviet Communism**

___ **Option 3 — Co-exist and Compromise**

___ **Option 4 — Avoid Foreign Entanglements**

Name: _____

Crafting Your Option

1. According to your option, what should be the U.S. role in the world?

2. Describe the most important policy steps of your option.

3. What are the historical lessons upon which your option is based?

4. What are the strongest arguments in favor of your option?
   a.
   b.
   c.

5. What arguments might those opposed to your option make?
   a.
   b.
   c.

Center for Foreign Policy Development *Permission granted for duplication*

Crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean — March 1947

You are one of several congressmen who has been called to the White House to be briefed on the situation in Greece and Turkey. On February 28, 1947, the British government sent two diplomatic notes to Washington, indicating that the ongoing financial crisis would soon force the British to cut off the aid they had been sending to Greece and Turkey. Hopes that the British economy would rebound were dealt a serious blow when the British Isles experienced the most severe winter of the century. Shortages in energy supplies required many British industries to shut down temporarily. Lacking the money to import food and raw materials, and unable to revive its export industries, Britain has been forced to ration food and energy. The British government now realizes that it can no longer afford the expense of maintaining the foreign commitments of a great power. British commitments to Greece and Turkey will be among the first to be reduced. It is feared that cutting off this aid will lead to a collapse of the Greek government's efforts to fight a civil war against Greek communists, and that this would increase neighboring Turkey's vulnerability in the face of Soviet pressure for territorial concessions.

Carefully read the background information below. Based upon the option you developed, answer the following questions:

1. What actions, if any, should the United States take?

2. How should these actions, if any, be presented to the American people?

Try to persuade other members of your group to accept your proposed policy. You will probably find that others in your group recommend policies different from yours. In that case, try to build a group recommendation on common ground. At the end of the class period, your group will be asked to present its recommendations before your classmates.

Background Information

Greece: A poor country with few natural resources, Greece (population 9.5 million) suffered from German occupation during the war. Civil war broke out following the German evacuation. The communist-led Greek opposition party (ELAM) and its military forces (ELAS), which number about 30,000, have significant support among the Greek people. Many Greeks view the government as corrupt, inefficient, and dominated by right-wing politicians. The ELAS forces receive most of their supplies from Yugoslavia in the north, where a communist government was installed after World War II. Unlike the other eastern European countries where communist governments were installed by the Soviets, a powerful national communist movement seized power in Yugoslavia without significant Soviet assistance. During the war, former British Prime Minister Churchill ordered units of the British army into Greece to put down a communist revolt that followed the German evacuation. British forces, equipment, and financial aid have continued to play a central role in propping up the Greek government. Britain views Greece as vital to the stability of the Eastern Mediterranean region.

Turkey: An ally of Germany in World War I, Turkey (population 14 million) remained neutral until the end of World War II. Historically at odds with Russia, its huge neighbor to the north, over disputed territories and control of the straits connecting the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, Turkey is fiercely anti-Russian and anti-communist. Like Greece, Turkey is underdeveloped and would need extensive financial assistance to modernize its armed forces to check the perceived Soviet threat. Unlike Greece, there is no significant communist party in Turkey. As part of their commitment in the Middle East, the British have been a major source of foreign aid to Turkey. The United States indicated in the fall of 1946 that it would assist the British and assume some of the burden for aid to Turkey, as well as to Greece.

Epilogue
The Truman Doctrine — March 1947

On March 12, 1947, President Truman delivered the speech that appears below to a joint session of Congress. As you read these excepts, answer the following questions:

Study Questions

1. U.S. presidents rarely deliver messages in person to joint sessions of Congress. Why did Truman choose this means to request $400 million in aid for Greece and Turkey when he did not appear before Congress the previous year to request larger amounts of aid for Great Britain?

2. Why is the Soviet Union not mentioned in the speech?

3. Although the amount of aid requested was relatively small compared to the loans and credits extended during the war for Lend-Lease and shortly after the war to Britain and France, the language used in the speech is very broad and general. Underline some of these broad, general statements. Why did President Truman choose to be general, rather than specific?

Extra Challenge: Does the language employed imply that the United States is embarking on a "mission"? Define "mission" in your own words. What previous "missions" in U.S. history can you recall? Is the concept of "mission" consistent with the concept of "containment"?

The Truman Doctrine

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved....Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds....

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries....The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate. There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic process can be pointed out and corrected. The government of Greece is not perfect....The Greek government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised toleration, and we advise toleration now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention. The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece....Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support. Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity....As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time. One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory has won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations....The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria....

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political process....

It is only necessary to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and discord might well spread throughout the entire Middle East. Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war....It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world....We must take immediate and resolute action.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel....

This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed $341 billion toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace. The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than one-tenth of 1 per cent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain. The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died.

We must keep that hope alive. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world — and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation. Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events. I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

Recommended Readings for the Teacher and Advanced Student

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